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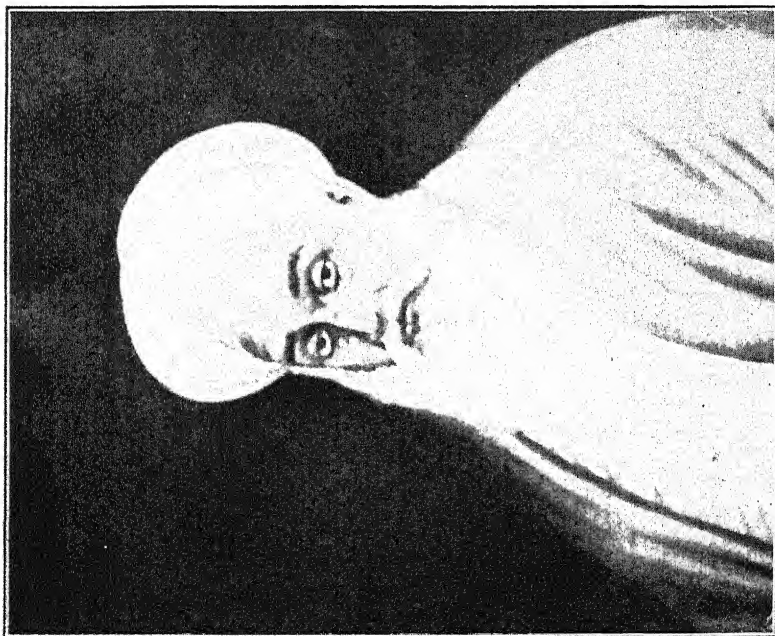
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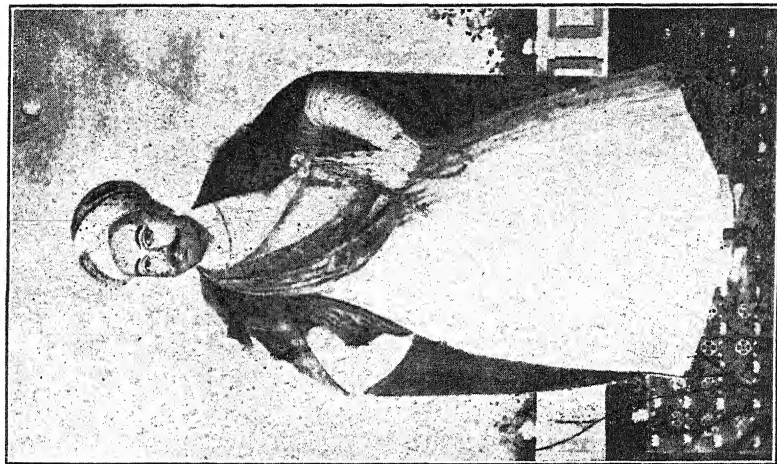
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*Rustam Maneck.*



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# JOURNAL

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VOL. VII

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### MORE ON BIOGRAPHY OF RUZBIHAN AL-BAQLI.

BY W. IVANOW.

In the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1928 (in reality issued only in September 1929), pp. 353-361, I have published a note on a fragment of a biographical Persian work dealing with the life and miracles of the famous Sufic saint of Shiraz, Abū Muḥammad Rūzbihān b. Abī Naṣr al-Baqlī al-Pasā'ī (d. in the beg. of Muḥarram 606 A. H., or mid. July 1209). The fragment which contained only 36 leaves and formed only a small portion of the whole work, was found by me in Shiraz in October 1928. All my search for more portions of the same copy was fruitless. Leaving Shiraz, however, I asked my friends to try more in this direction. Quite recently one of them has sent to me another portion of the same copy, only nine leaves, fortunately belonging to the beginning of the work, and containing much valuable information about it and about its author. I believe it is worth while to publish these details here.

The title of the work is omitted in the copy, though on f. 6 there are two lines left blank in the place in which it should appear, after the words "*wa nām-i-īn kitāb . . . . .*" Most probably it was something like *Sīrat-nāma-i-Shaykh Rūzbihān*, because the author uses the expression of *sīrat-nāma* in the sense of

'biography,' as on f. 5v, where it is used twice in connection with the Shikh himself.<sup>1</sup>

In my preceding paper I have shown that the work could not have been compiled before 678 A.H./1280 A.D. In this fragment, on f. 5v, it is stated plainly that the compiler was asked to write the book 94 years after the death of the Shikh<sup>2</sup>, i.e. in or about 700 A.H./ beg. 1301 A.D.

It was clear that the author was a great-grandson of the Shikh.<sup>3</sup> He gives here (f. 5v) his own name as Ibrāhīm b. Rūzbihān. Thus his full name was Ibrāhīm b. Shaykhī'l-Islām Ṣadrī'd-dīn Rūzbihān b. Fakhrī'd-dīn Aḥmad b. Rūzbihān.

As may be seen from this fragment, the work had (probably after the usual doxology) an introduction giving a brief mention of different famous Sufis of various parts of the Islamic world; after this there is a page (f. 5v) on the circumstances of the composition of the book, and on the distribution of subjects in it (ff. 6-6v). The seven *bābs*, into which it was divided (besides the conclusion, *khatm*, mentioned in the fragment described in the preceding paper), dealt with:

1. On the Shikh's birth and early career (here is a mistake, and in the margins it is written only: مولود مبارک شیخ)
2. On the great shaykhs who were contemporaries with Ruzbihan<sup>4</sup> (در ذکر اکابر مشایخ که معاصر او بودند)
3. On his instruction and miracles (ذکر حکایات و کرامات شیخ)
4. On his teachings with regard to *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth*, etc. (در فوائد شیخ از تفسیر و حدیث و غیره)

<sup>1</sup> As he says (f. 5v): اما ... سیرت نامۀ معتبر بذکر احوال ... استند تا کردند تا: عزیزش در قلم نیامد ... سیرت نامۀ شیخ جمع کند ...

<sup>2</sup> As he says (f. 5v): بعد از نود و چهار سال از وفات مبارکش

<sup>3</sup> See my preceding paper, pp. 354-355.

<sup>4</sup> It may be from this chapter of the present work that Jami has derived the biographies of some associates of the Shikh, given in the *Nafahātu'l-uns* (cf. my preceding paper, p. 353).

5. On various instructive matters taught by him to his associates (در فوائد متفرقه بر اصحاب)
6. On children and grandchildren of Ruzbihan, and on some virtues of the (author's) father, Shaykhul-Islām Ṣadru'l-millat wa'd-dīn Rūzbihān ath-thānī ash-Shaykhul-'th-thānī از ذکر اولاد و اسباط شیخ و شرطی  
وزبہان الثانی الشیخ الثانی  
از فضایل بدر بزرگوار شیخ الاسلام صدر الملة والدین
7. On Shikh's death (در وفات حضرت شیخ)

Thus the two fragments contain only portions of the first, third, fourth, and seventh chapters.

The present fragment opens with the concluding portion of a note on a shaykh who died in 282 A.H./895 A.D. Then follow shaykhs of Khorasan: Abū Yazīd Bisṭāmī (d. 261/875), with a reference to his pupil, Aḥmad b. Khadrūya. Then Abū'l-Qāsim Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad Rabadhī (d. 367/977). On f. 1v is mentioned Abū Ḥafs Nishāpūrī (d. 264/877); Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad al-Wāsiṭī, who was really from Marw (d. 320/932); Abū 'Alī Fuḍayl b. 'Iyāḍ (d. 187/803); Ibrāhīm Ad'ham (d. 161/778); Abū Ḥamid Aḥmad Khadrūya Balkhī, mentioned above; the date of his death is wrongly given as 204/819. Abū'l-Qāsim Qushayrī, as the author says (f. 2), is not mentioned in the *Risāla* (whose?), nor in the *Tabaqāt* (whose, Sulamī's or 'Abdu'l-lah Anṣārī's?)<sup>1</sup>, for the same reasons as Abū Sa'īd b. Abī'l-Khayr<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The compiler speaks vaguely about some *kutub-i-mashā'ikh* (f. 1), or simply *kutub* (f. 3v) which he perused. About this *Risāla* nothing can be gathered from the present fragment: ذکر ایشان در رساله نفروموده و در طبقات مذکور نگشته.

<sup>2</sup> It would be interesting to find whether he has in view one of the two biographies of Abū Sa'īd, which are still preserved and have been edited by the late Pr. V. Zhukovski of St. Petersburg, i.e. the *Asrārū't-tawḥīd fī maqāmāt Shaykh Abī Sa'īd* (composed between 553 and 599 A. H., i.e. 1158 and 1203; publ. St. Petersburg, 1899), and another, shorter one, composed much earlier (publ. St. Petersburg, 1899), under the title of *Hālāt wa sukhanān-i-Shaykh Abū Sa'īd*.



and Abū'l-Ḥasan Kharqānī<sup>1</sup>, i.e. because there were special biographies (*sīrat-nāma*) devoted to them and their associates.

Among the shaykhs of Iraq are mentioned (f.2v) Sirrī, Junayd, Nūrī, Ibn 'Aṭā, etc.

Sufis of Fars (f. 3v). They are innumerable; the author only can mention no less than 200 of those who performed miracles, like Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā, Abū'l-'Abbās Shīrāzī, Muḥammad b. Khalīl Shīrāzī, Abū Maṣṣūr Shīrāzī, Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb Shīrāzī, and their associates. Amongst them Abū 'Abdī'l-lah b. Muḥammad b. Khafīf ash-Shīrāzī has produced many works (f. 4); he died in 371/981-2, in Shiraz. Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Shahryār al-Kāzīrūnī has converted to Islamism several thousands of Gabrs; he died in 426/1035. Abū 'Abdī'l-lah Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad al-Bayṭār (d. 363/973-4). Abū Muḥammad Ja'far al-Ḥadhdhā (d. 360/970-1). Abū'l-Qāsim Ṣaffār of Shīrāz (d. 372/982-3). Abū'l-Ḥasan Sālība (or Sāl-i-bih?) of Bayḍā (d. 300/912-3). After these early Sufis the author immediately mentions his great-grandfather, Ruzbihan, the 'Shaṭṭāḥ-i-Fārs'.

As the portion of the first *bāb* of the book which is preserved in the present fragment is rather interesting and typical of its contents, style and language, it seems useful to give it here *in extenso*.

In the present quotation all the peculiarities of orthography of the original Manuscript are preserved as far as possible, and only obvious *lapsus calami* are corrected without special note. It is remarkable that the *iqāfa* is very rarely marked both after *a* and *ā*, —such cases are exceptions rather than rule. It is difficult to believe that the *iqāfa* was usually omitted in pronunciation. Another peculiar feature of this Manuscript is inconsistent use of *dh* instead of *ḍ*. Intervocalic *dh* appears to be not so frequent as *dh* at the end of the final syllable, both after a long or short vowel. Also inconsistent is the use of the forms of the relative

<sup>1</sup> It is difficult to find whether the author alludes to the work, with the title of *Nūrū'l-'ulūm*, dealing with the subject, preserved in a defective copy in the British Museum (Or. 249), and recently published with a Russian translation by E. Bertels in *Iran*, vol. III, 1929, pp. 155-224. It is noteworthy that the author mentions nothing about Aḥmad-i-Jām and his biographies which already existed at that time.



pronoun *ki*: *ki* and *kī* are used indiscriminately, and occasionally *k*, in the usual combination *chunānk(i)*. The modal prefix *mī-* is usually written separately from the verb, but *bi-* always together with it. It seems plausible that all these cases of inconsistency are due entirely to the scribe's introducing in the process of transcription different usages, newer than those which were followed in the Manuscript from which he wrote the present copy.

[f. 6v] مولد مبارک شیخ کبیر سید الاقطاب روزبهان قدس  
الله سره در بسا بوده که قصه از قصبات شیراز است و از قبیل دیالمه  
بود، و این دیالمه قبیل معروف و مشهور است، و ولادت میمونش  
در سنه اثنین و عشرین و خمسایه<sup>1</sup> بوده، و عمر عزیزش  
هشتاد و چهار سال بوده، و در محرم سنه ست و ستمایه بعالم  
بقا رحلت کرد و در سراج<sup>2</sup> قرب ربانی منزل ساخته، و اگرچه  
علو شان او و مرتبت سلطان او بجزبه عنایت ربانی و توفیق  
(عایت سبحانی بود اما در ابتدا حال ریاضت بسیار و مجاهدات  
بی شمار باختیار کشیده، اما مبدا حالش از [f. 7] مصنفات  
مبارکش جنان معلوم شد که شیخ گفت که اتفاق ولادت من  
در میان قومی بود که در غایت ضلالت کانهم<sup>3</sup> حمر مستنفره<sup>2</sup>  
و جهالت بودند و شغل ایشان هم تباهی و مناهی بود، چون  
بس تمیز<sup>3</sup> رسیدم داعیه طلب در وجودم پیدا شد، با خود  
میگفتم کی خداوند بروردگار من کجاست، دران طفلی از  
کودکان و همنشینان در مکتب می برسیدم که شما خداوند  
خود را می شناسید، ایشان گفتند می گویند کی از جارحه و  
جهات منزّه است، ازین سخن مرا وجدی حاصل شد، چون  
بس بلوغ رسیدم طاعت و خلوت بر من غالب شد، مدتی بدین

<sup>1</sup> 522 A. H./1128 A. D.

<sup>2</sup> The Coran, Chapt. LXXIV, 51.

<sup>3</sup> Here تمیز.

طریق میگذرانیدم قرآن را یاد گرفتم و بتحصیل علوم مشغول شدم، چون بسن بیست و پنجم سال رسیدم وحشتی عظیم از خلق مرا ظاهر شد، کاه کاهی نسائم قدس بر جانم می وزید [f. 7v] نعی دانستم که چیست، کاه کاهی باقعی از غیب آواز دادی تاشبی در صحرائی<sup>1</sup> بوزم آوازی شنیدم بغایت خوش جنانچ ازان آواز سوزی عظیم و وجدی بر من غالب شد، از مکان می رفتم تا بسر تلی رسیدم، شخصی را دیدم نیکو روی بر هیأت صوفیان، سخنی جند در باب توحید تقریر فرمود، تاب آتشم کی بود تا ناکاه از چشم من غایب گشت، سکر بر من غلبه کرد، روز دیگر هر چه داشتم بر انداختم، بذین طریق مدتی می بوزم تا روزی بخدمت سیدالاقطاب خضر رسیدم، علیه السلام، سینی بمن داد بعضی ازان تناول فرموده، کفتم این بستان، بستدم و تناول کردم بسی نور و صفا ازان یافتم

و از معتبران منقولست که انواع ریاضات که شیخ کشیده یکی آن بود کی هفت سال در کوه بمو<sup>2</sup> کی صبوی شهر شیرازست [f. 8] بیک خرقة بسر برده جنانچ غسل و وضو در زمستان و تابستان دران کرده بود، و آن خرقة از کردن بیرون نیاورده، و کس ندید کی او تناولی کرد، جنانک مریدان انواع اطعمه بخدمتش بردندی روز دیگر بر سر کوهها آن طعامها خورش و حوش و طیور بودی، و شیخ فرمودی کاه کاهی که ای کوه بمو بسی انوار تجلی بر تو یافته ام

جفین منقولست کی چون شیخ از سکر باز آمد در شیراز بنا بر باط مبارک فرمود در باب خداش بن منصور، رضی الله عنه

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting that the scribe (or the author), systematically writes double yy in such case, cf. f. 6, — *bichārayī, gadāyī* (بیکجاری، گدایی).

<sup>2</sup> The range of Bamū is situated to the North-East of Shiraz.

در تاریخ سنه ستین و خمسایه<sup>1</sup>، و ذکر آن فرمود که بنا این رباط برای اولیا حق است، و از جمله کرامات شیخ قدس الله روح العزیز در بناء رباط یکی آن بود که در پوشیدن بارگاه رباط که مرقد مبارک شیخ آنجاست جویی بزرگ بر دیوار می نهادند [f.8v] و کوتاه بود جفانکه بدیوار نمی رسید، در خدمت شیخ عرضه داشتند این حکایت، شیخ خود بر سر عمارت آمد و سجاده مبارک خود را بر سر جوب انداخت، چون برداشتند تمام بود و از سر دیوار گذشته بود و خالق دران متحیر بماندند و درین قضیه منکران مرید شدند، و این حکایت معروف و مشهور است میان اهل شیراز<sup>2</sup> و از آن جوب قدری مانده است، و هر کی را مرضی یا تبی بیدامی کرد و قدری جوب می سوزانند آن زحمت زایل میشود، و عظیم مجرب است، و از شیخ منقولست که فرمود که سر تربت من از اولیای حق خالی نباشد، و الحق چنین یافتم،

شرح ریاضتی که شیخ قدس الله روح در اینده حال کشیده بیش از آنست که تعداد آن توان کرد یا در قلم توان آورد از صیام [f.9] و قیام و انواع ریاضات و اصناف اوراد کی او را بوذه است در شبان روزی، از معتبران جنان استماع افتاد که وقت نماز جاشت شصت رکعت گزاردی، و احیا شب ازو معروف و مشهور بود، و کریم بسیار کردی و آه بی شمار زدی و جندان کریم کرده بود که از آثار کریم بر روی عزیزش نشانی بود جنانچه وقتی کی ذوقی بیدام شدی و رفتی کردی اشک چشم مبارکش میانه آن نشان فرود آمدی، و گاه گاهی که غلبات شوقش ظاهر گشتی همچون فواره اشک چشمش در افشان گشتی،

July, 1930.

<sup>1</sup> 560 A. H./1164-5 A. D.

<sup>2</sup> A similar miracle is narrated about an early Chishtī shaykh.

## GERALD AUNGIER'S REPORT ON BOMBAY.

*With an Introduction and Annotations*

By SIR CHARLES FAWCETT.

### Introduction.

Administration Reports are a marked feature of officialdom in India, and may indeed be described as the bane of life for those who have the duty of compiling or reviewing them. Against the trouble and expense of their production is, however, to be set off their utility for statistical and many other purposes; and each of them generally contributes something to the stream of information culminating in the Report of the Moral, Material and Economic Progress of India, which must be one of the oldest "Annals" in existence. In fact the origin of such Administration Reports lies in much greater antiquity than is generally known or suspected.

It may almost be said to be coeval with the introduction of British rule in Bombay, the first English Colony in India, for the Instructions<sup>1</sup> issued in 1662 by King Charles II to Sir Abraham Shipman, as the Governor-Designate of the Island after it was handed over by the Portuguese, included a direction that he should "from time to time, as often as opportunity can be had, give an account to us of the condition of our said Island and of the affairs and inhabitants thereof." In the Public Record Office at London there are extant long letters of Sir Abraham's successors, Humfrey Cooke and Sir Gervase Lucas in 1665 to 1667 regarding the state of Bombay and their administration of its affairs; but it was not till after the transfer of Bombay to the East India Company in 1668 that we find a seasonal regularity in the submission of full and detailed accounts of the Island and its progress, which savours of the modern annual Administration Report.

Sir George Oxenden, the first Governor under the Company, paid a short visit to Bombay in February 1669, and gave his main

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<sup>1</sup> Public Record Office, C. O. 77, Vol. 49, folio 131, reprinted in Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan's "Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations" etc. p. 524.

attention to the settlement of the military side of its government, which was then of supreme importance. He died in July 1669. His successor, Gerald Aungier, has been well called the "true founder" of Bombay<sup>1</sup>. He spent a month there in the early part of 1670, in the course of which he dealt firmly with the serious dissensions that had broken out during Capt. Young's Deputy Governorship, and laid the foundations of proper Civil and Judicial administration. But he was unable in that short period to carry out his extensive plans for the improvement of conditions on the Island, and his main work was done during his subsequent stay of over three years from June 1672 to September 1675. In the interval between his two visits, the Deputy Governor and his Council had failed to show anything like the energy that characterized Aungier. Their "Consultation-Book" was "very thin"<sup>2</sup> and the Court of Directors complained of the "very brief and unsatisfactory" reports<sup>3</sup> submitted by them. The Court gave orders in March 1672 that "for the future we doe expect and require a full and large Accompt of" all affairs on the Island<sup>4</sup>. Aungier had the pen of a ready writer and needed no stimulus of this kind. He certainly gave the Court no reason to complain of any want of fullness or thoroughness in his reports and proceedings. In December 1672 he sent home a very long letter<sup>5</sup>, which he describes<sup>6</sup> as "a large Account of your Island Bombay", and introduced the novelty of attaching separate reports by each member of his Council as to his particular "employment" (or portfolio, as we would call it now).

Almost exactly a year later Aungier not only despatched the usual "General Letter" dealing at length with all current affairs affecting the company's trade and welfare in Bombay and the various factories, over which he presided, but also "humbly

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<sup>1</sup> Sir William Hunter's "History of British India," Vol. II, p. 214; "Keigwin's Rebellion" by Ray and Oliver Strachey, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Factory Records, Bombay, Vol. 6, p. 38; O. C. 3722, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Letter Book. Vol. 4, p. 525.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 380.

<sup>5</sup> O. C. 3722.

<sup>6</sup> Factory Records, Bombay, Vol. 6, p. 63.



presented" a full statistical and descriptive account<sup>1</sup> of the Island and its inhabitants, fortifications, system of government, trade resources, etc. In effect it is the earliest British Administration Report relating to India.

Though there are no less than three contemporary copies of it in the Records of the India Office, this report was not forthcoming in Bombay when Sir James Campbell prepared his "Materials," Vol. XXVI of the *Bombay Gazetteer*<sup>2</sup>. A transcript of it was, however, among the copies of documents that Miss E. Sainsbury made for the Bombay Government<sup>3</sup>, and Mr. S. M. Edwardes has used it in compiling his *Gazetteer of the Town and Island of Bombay*. Extracts from it (in which some liberties are taken with the actual text<sup>4</sup>) are given at pp. 65—70 of volume II of this work, and those no doubt contain some of the salient and most interesting parts of the Report. But it appears that the whole of it has never been published; and most writers on Bombay in the seventeenth century seem to be unaware of its existence.

There are many good reasons for remedying this omission. It is contemporaneous with the first part of Dr. Fryer's<sup>5</sup> well-known "New Account of East India and Persia", and is on many points more authoritative. Its publication will enable a comparison to be made between the two accounts of Bombay, which will be useful to historians. The discussion it contains about the advisability of Reclamation from the Sea is of pertinent interest in view of recent developments in Bombay; and though the large part of the Report devoted to Fortifications has lost its old-time importance, it may help to throw further light on the former topography of Bombay and problems such as the history

<sup>1</sup> O. C. 3910. Dr. Da Cunha in *The Origin of Bombay*, B. R. A. S. Journal, 1900 Extra Number, says it resembles the Tombo or report made by Simao Botelho in 1554. A similar, though much shorter, Administration Report was submitted by the Deputy Governor, John Petit, in January 1677 (App. E. to *Keigwin's Rebellion*).

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix A in Part I.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Home Misc. Vol. 50.

<sup>4</sup> These are, however, immaterial except in one instance mentioned in note 83 to the Report.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Fryer was one of the Company's doctors from 1672 to 1681 and was the medical officer in Bombay in 1673-75.

of the tunnel recently discovered under the site of the main-line terminus of the G. I. P. Railway. The portion which deals with offences against religion and morality, such as "breach of the holy sabbath, prophanesne, swearing, drunkennesse and other licentiousnesse" gives a glimpse of the austerity and vigilance, with which Aungier attempted to reform the English inhabitants of the Island. In short the Report well repays perusal. It is written in the dignified and forcible style that characterizes all his writings; and though Anderson's criticism<sup>1</sup> that he was too fond of religious phrases may be well founded, it must be remembered that this was characteristic of the time in which he lived. His comments have a ring of sincerity and evince the moderation and wisdom, which attracted the esteem of his contemporaries.

The annexed copy of his Report on Bombay in December 1673 is taken *verbatim* from the transcript of O.C. 3910 contained in Vol. 50 of the Home Miscellaneous series in the India Office except for some slight alterations in the punctuation, made to bring it more into accord with modern usage. It has also been compared with the contemporary copies in any case where a doubt as to a name or other word has arisen.

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<sup>1</sup> "The English in Western India," p. 202.

REPORT BY GERALD AUNGIER ON BOMBAY IN  
DECEMBER 1673.

(*N.B.*—The references in the foot-notes are to the following books, unless otherwise stated :—

*Anderson.*—The English in Western India.

*Campbell.*—Materials, &c., Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. 26.

*Douglas.*—Bombay and Western India.

*Edwardes.*—Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island.

*Foster.*—The English Factories in India, 1668-1669.

*Fryer.*—A new account of East India and Persia (Hakluyt series, 1909.)

*Khan.*—The Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations, relating to Bombay, 1660-1677.

*Malabari.*—Bombay in the Making.

*Strachey.*—Oxford Historical Studies Vol. 6; Keigwin's Rebellion.

O. C.s, Letter-Books, and F.R.s, refer to records in the India Office).

15th December 1673.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOURS,

In this paper we humbly present unto you a scheame and Narrative of your Island Bombay wherein severall particulars wee treat of may seeme improper for a letter, yet they are not altogether unworthy your knowledge.

The Island Bombay lyes in 18d : 40m : north latitude<sup>1</sup> bounded on the North with the Island Salsett, on the East with the Island Caranjah<sup>2</sup>, and the maine land of Decan, on the South with the high land of Chaul<sup>3</sup>, on the West with the Ocean. It

<sup>1</sup> The correct latitude is 18° 55' N.

<sup>2</sup> This island is no doubt specially referred to because of its then notoriety and importance, in view of the dispute between the Company and the Portuguese over the latter's levy of custom dues at Thana and Caranjah on all boats passing there to or from Bombay.

<sup>3</sup> This was the nearest Portuguese possession on the coast to the South.



contains about 10 miles<sup>1</sup> in length and neare 4 in breadth. By the breaches and overflowings of the sea in severall places it seemes to make four small Islands<sup>2</sup> in Spring tides, which at low water are passable for man or beast, to wit, one the Colleo<sup>3</sup>, or Old Woman's Island<sup>4</sup>; the second containing the Cassabem<sup>5</sup> or Palmero Grove of Bombay, the towne of Mazagon, Parel, Moihem<sup>6</sup>, Sion

<sup>1</sup> Fryer (I, 177) in his description of Bombay gives the length as 8 miles "taking in Old Woman's Island." Similarly, Humfrey Cooke's report of 3rd March 1665 gives the length as 8 miles and the breadth as  $5\frac{1}{2}$  (Khan 468). Aungier's estimate is nearer Edwardes's statement of the present dimensions as about  $11\frac{1}{2}$  miles long by 3 to 4 miles broad (I, p. 2).

<sup>2</sup> Ptolemy described Bombay as one of a group of seven islands (Heptanesia). Aungier reduces this number to four, by combining (1) Colaba and Old Womans' Island, and (2) the three Islands containing (a) Bombay, (b) Mazagaon, and (c) Parel, Sion and Dharavi.

<sup>3</sup> Now known as Colaba. In 1672 it was acquired by the Company under Aungier's Convention, where it is also styled "Colio." This name was probably derived from the Kolis or fishermen, who lived on it.

<sup>4</sup> This was the name given to the small island, which was the part of Colaba nearest to Bombay; and it was commonly used to designate the whole of Colaba. "Old Woman" is supposed to be a corruption of the Arabic "Al Omani," meaning the deep-sea fishers.

<sup>5</sup> This corresponds to the Portuguese "Cazabê" and Marathi "Kasba," i. e. the chief station or headquarters. Later on (p. 16) Aungier translates it into "Shire."

<sup>6</sup> This should be *Mochem*, which is the spelling of the place in two other copies of this Report in the India Office. It probably corresponds to *Mucher*, which is mentioned in Captain Gary's rent rolls in connection with a ferry (Foster, 69, and the Indian Antiquary, Vol. 54, p. 4) and to *Munchum*, which was ordered to be fortified in June 1672 (F. R. Misc. II, 139) and where a guard-house was erected in 1682 (F. R. Bom. IX, 17; Strachey, 67). The name seems to have disappeared, and its exact situation is uncertain; but it is mentioned later on in Aungier's report (n. 1, p. 27) as adjacent to a ford, similar to those at Sion and Mahim. Again (n. 3, p. 22) mention is made of waste inundated ground bordering on Mochem and Sion, so that it was probably in the neighbourhood of Matunga, between which and Sion there was a large piece of inundated land as shown in old maps of Bombay such as Niebuhr's of 1764 (Edwardes, I, 155), Captain Tate's of 1829 and Murphy's one of 1843 (Edwardes, I, 162; Campbell Pt. III, p. 649). Edwardes, in fact, in his reproduction of this passage of Aungier's report, has boldly substituted *Matunga* for *Mochem* (III, p. 65). Fryer (i, 158 and 159) mentions *Munchumbay* as one of the seven islands in or about Bombay Harbour and as being to its north side. William Crooke says (Fryer, i, 158) that hitherto

and Daravee<sup>1</sup>; the third containing the Cassabem or Palmero wood of Mahim; the 4th the Hilly Island of Veroly<sup>2</sup>. The sea by the said breaches hath eaten up about one third<sup>3</sup> and that the best and richest part of the Island, which yet by industry, and some charge is recoverable and would prove of great advantage and security to the whole.<sup>4</sup>

The aire according to the severall seasons of the yeare is equal to that of Surat and Broach, which are esteemed the most salubrious places of all India, and exceeds that of the Portuguese Country on the maine<sup>5</sup>.

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no satisfactory explanation of *Munchumbay* has been found, but the similarity of name points to its connection with this Mochem or Munchum. A variant of the name was *Mochimbo*, as is shown by an order of 22nd January 1673 that the "passages," or ferrying rights, of Mochimbo and Sion should be auctioned. (F. R. Bom. I, 16). This explains the affix "bay," which Fryer has added to *Munchum*, probably on the analogy of Trombay or Trumbay, which was called *Trumba* by Humfrey Cooke (Khan, 469) and *Turumba* by Simao Botelho (Edwardes, I, 31, n. 3).

Fryer, therefore, probably used the name to denote the northern portion of Bombay, containing Sion and Mahim, as well as Munchum. And is it not possible that *Matunga* is a corruption of *Munchumgaon* (village) by a phonetic substitution of 't' for 'ch'? I put this suggestion forward, as Edwardes says (I, 29) that "no trustworthy origin of the name Matunga has yet been discovered."

"Since writing the above, I have come across an entry in a Bombay Account book (Journal) p. 11, dated 1st August 1722, which mentions 'the low grounds about the villages *Mantug*<sup>n</sup>, Sion, Vadala and Cassaby.' The name *Mantugaon* distinctly favours the above suggestion, both by the 'n' preceding the 't' which corresponds to the 'n' of Munchum and by the termination 'gaon' instead of 'ga'.

<sup>1</sup> Dharavi, between Mahim and Riva Fort.

<sup>2</sup> Worli.

<sup>3</sup> Fryer (i, 175) puts the loss of land at 40,000 acres; but this seems an excessive estimate. A survey of 1673 put the loss at about 473 acres (F. R. Misc. II, 87, 88), but this was probably confined to the 'Great Breach.'

<sup>4</sup> This suggestion is amplified and discussed later on (pp. 22-24).

<sup>5</sup> The experience of Aungier and his colleagues was necessarily very limited. By "the Portuguese Country on the maine" is meant the neighbouring territories of Bassein, Thana and Bandra, which the Portuguese acquired (with Bombay and Mahim) in 1534.

The monsoon or winds generally ruling are the North East and South West, which divide the years between them. The No. east monsoon raignes from October to the end of March, the So. west from Aprill to the end of September, yet in the month of Aprill and May as also in August and September the winds are very variable, and [there are] often calmes and violent gusts,<sup>1</sup> which renders those months subject to chronicall and dangerous diseases, as well among the Natives as Europeans<sup>2</sup>.

The Seas are navigable ten months in the yeare, to wit, from August to May inclusive; the raines begin often in May but sett not in violently till June and then continue to the end of September with frequent intermission of fair weather; after the intermission of the first raines in May or June and after their totall ceasing in October, the aire and water are unwholesome, by reason of the crude pestiferous vapours exhaled by the violent heat of the sun into the aire and vermin created in the wells and tanks, which renders those months most sickly to the Inhabitants, and especially to the Europeans.

The ground though generally stony is by the laborious industry of the Inhabitants made very fertile and would bring forth all sorts of graine which India affords, but the Husbandmen finding their greatest proffit to arise from rice and coconutts have employed as it were all the land therein; it produceth all sorts of trees for timber and fruit, all sorts of plants, roots and vegetables necessary for the use of man for sustenance, health, pleasure or proffit, as successfully and in as great abundance as any part of India, which we have experimented by a garden<sup>3</sup> raised this yeare neare the Castle, the produce whereof doth sufficiently evidence the fruitfullnesse of the soile.

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<sup>1</sup> Aungier no doubt refers to the sudden storms known as "Elephantas."

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand Dr. Bird, then Chirurgion at Bombay, in a report to Aungier in 1673 (O. C. 3730) attributed the great mortality in Bombay mainly to the "irregularity and intemperance" of the Englishmen, coupled with a complete disregard of the commonest precautions in illness.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Fryer's description (i, 165) of the garden attached to the manor-house of the "Lady of the Island," Donna Iñez de Miranda, on the spot where the Arsenal now stands behind the Town Hall.

The water neare the Sea is somewhat brackish, but otherwise very sweet, and as wholesome as that of Surrat, or any other part in India.

The Island for better order's sake is divided into two small Shires, to wit, Bombay and Mahim.<sup>1</sup>

The Shire of Bombay conteines the Island Colleo, the townes of Bombay and Mazagon and Parell, with the severall Parishes of Pallo<sup>2</sup>, Deirao<sup>3</sup>, Gregon<sup>4</sup> and Vall<sup>5</sup> and Mochein<sup>6</sup>. The Shire of Mahim conteines the towne of Mahim, Sion, Daravee and Verlee, with the severall parishes of Salvacaon<sup>7</sup>, St. Michæll<sup>8</sup> &c. Precincts.

The Townes of Bombay and Mahim<sup>9</sup> are very populous by

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<sup>1</sup> Bombay was divided into the same two cazabes in the Portuguese time, but the distribution of villages, etc., differed (see Edwards, *Rise of Bombay*, p. 72). For instance Parel is here placed in the Bombay Sub-division, whereas it more naturally appears in the Mahim Sub-division in the Portuguese arrangements and in the division of the Island for jurisdictional purposes under the orders of 2nd February 1680, cited by Malabari, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> Now known as Apollo. It is also mentioned in Aungier's convention as one of the boundaries of the Island Colio. The derivation of the name is undetermined (Edwards, I, p. 25).

<sup>3</sup> This may be identical with *Derong*, which is mentioned by Burnell, who commanded Dongri, Fort and wrote in 1710.

<sup>4</sup> Girgaon.

<sup>5</sup> This is probably Cavel (spelt Cavell or Cavall by Burnell), one of the original settlements of Koli fishermen, who were converted to Christianity during the era of Portuguese rule (Edwards, I, p. 38).

<sup>6</sup> This is probably a mistake for Mochem, which is the way in which the name is written in one of the three copies in the India Office. The fact that it is given as a parish of Parel supports the suggestion in foot-note 8 that it was in the neighbourhood of Matunga. Gary's Rent-rolls (Foster, 69) also placed "Mucher" between Matunga and Parel.

<sup>7</sup> This was named after the Church of Nossa Senhora da Salvação at Dadar, which was built in 1596 and repaired in 1858 (Edwards, III, p. 250).

<sup>8</sup> The church of St. Michael in Mahim also still exists and is said to have been built about 1540 (Edwards, II, p. 36).

<sup>9</sup> Mahim is said to have been formerly the name of the whole Island and the place where the King's Court was kept in the time of its Mahommedan rule (see Khan p. 531). A custom-house was established there both under Portuguese and English rule.

Merchants, tradesmen and artificers of all sorts, being the chiefe ports of Trade, which by the conflux of Inhabitants and Strangers sensibly encreaseth through God's great blessing, notwithstanding the notable discouragement of the warr<sup>1</sup>; the other townes and Parishes are well inhabited but not populous as the former.

The people and Inhabitants on the Island may be reduced to the following heads, to wit, Christians, Moors,<sup>2</sup> Gentues.<sup>3</sup> Under the Christian name are contained Catholics of the English church, and catholics of the Roman church, the former in the true light, free use and enjoyment of the evangelicall blessing, if their lives and practice were answerable thereunto; of these there are very few insomuch that their number is even despicable, but we hope that God will encourage your hearts to plant and strengthen your hopefull Island with a more plentiful Colony of English, for its greater security, increase of Trade and promoting of the true religion; the latter though very numerous, yet most of them blacks, unhappy in the blindness wherewith their Priests enchant them, poore yet contented in their way. The English are employed in Trade and the Militia, the other Christians are occupied chiefly in planting of the ground; some few in trade and too many of them as Souldiers in your garrison, for pure want of English protestants, to keep watch and defend the Island, to our noe mean trouble continuall care and insecurity. The romish Christians have fine faire churches on the Island, the English not one as yet, but we are intended by God's blessing to build one soe soon as we have your order, and soe soon as the warr will give us leave.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Aungier must here refer to the war between Aurangzebe and Shivaji rather than the Dutch war of 1672-4. The latter only affected the "conflux of inhabitants" on rare occasions like that of the threatened attack of a Dutch fleet in February 1673.

<sup>2</sup> Mahommedans. The term came from the Portuguese, whose contact in the Peninsula had been with the Musulmans of Mauritania, and consequently called all Mahommedans *Mouros* (Hobson-Jobson, 581).

<sup>3</sup> Hindus. The word is a corruption of the Portuguese *Gentio*, a Gentile or heathen, which they applied to the Hindus in contra-distinction to the Mouros or Moors (Hobson-Jobson, 367).

<sup>4</sup> The foundations of this Church, which is the present Cathedral, were laid under Aungier's directions, but for want of sufficient funds the building was not completed till 1718. For a detailed account see App. D to *Keigwin's Rebellion*.



Among the Moors are severall Sects and Casts, differing according to their Nation from whence they come ; they are not very numerous as yet but sensibly increased. Some few old Inhabitants are employed in the lands and others doe buy possessions ; most are employed in Trade, supplying the Island with provitions, going to Sea in ships and other vessells as lascars or marines, haberdashers of small wares, weavers, taylors, bakers, smiths, and other handycrafts, very useful and indispensably necessary to the Island. The Moors have two places of their worship, one at Bombay,<sup>1</sup> the other at Mahim,<sup>2</sup> which latter is the tomb of one of their famous Peers or Saints there buried, much frequented in the month of October by pilgrimages made thereunto, as well by the natives as by all the Inhabitants of the neighbouring parts, who come thither without armes, or if they bring any, they are secured during their stay, being five days, when a publique faire is kept at Mahim to the improvement of trade, during which time strict guards are kept at said place. Under the name of Gentues are severall casts, to wit, Banyans, Brahmains, Purvoos,<sup>3</sup> Sinays,<sup>4</sup> Bandareens,<sup>5</sup> Corumbeens,<sup>6</sup> Coolys,<sup>7</sup> &c. These are very numerous in their respective casts and increase dayly in respect of the liberty they have in the exercise of their persuasions (either totally denied or much restrained in other parts). Of these the Brahmines are employed in the offices of the Gentue Idolatry and some of them in Trade ; the Pourvoos are farmers of lands and receivers of rents ; the Banyans are solely taken up with trade, either for themselves or Brokers for others ; the Sinays employ

<sup>1</sup> This was probably the original Jama Mosque of Bombay, which was situated near Dongri Fort (Edwardes, III, p. 311).

<sup>2</sup> This is the well-known shrine of the Muhammadan Saint Makhtum Fakih Ali Paru, who died in 1431. The annual fair is still as frequented as it was in Aungier's time. It is held from the 13th to the 22nd of the Musalman month of Madar, and though originally fixed in the cold season passes through the various months of the year (Edwardes, III, p. 303).

<sup>3</sup> Prabhus.

<sup>4</sup> Shenvis.

<sup>5</sup> Bhandaris.

<sup>6</sup> Kumbis.

<sup>7</sup> Kolis. The term *Cooly* appear to be derived from this race or caste in Western India (Hobson-Jobson 249).

themselves in lands and also in trade ; the Corumbeens are tillers and movers of lands as well the rice as the Coconuts ; the Bandareens are occupied about the Toddy trees,<sup>1</sup> selling toddy [and] distilling Arrack, called Phoole rack,<sup>2</sup> which yields the Company a considerable revenue ; they are also good soldiers,<sup>3</sup> stout, faithfull and lovers of the English. The Coolys are the generall fishermen of the Island, yielding a good revenue to the Company, and other useful and indispensible services ; these are as it were the Company's slaves, hardy unwearied labourers and lovers of the English, the better sort of them employing themselves in trade and growing rich thereby. Of the Gentue cast are many handicraftmen, goldsmiths, coppersmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, turners, weavers, bakers, &c., of whome the greater plenty there is the more will the Island flourish. The Gentues have three places of their worship, one at Bombay,<sup>4</sup> one at Mahim,<sup>5</sup> the other at Balkaser<sup>6</sup> whither they goe to Pilgrimages and wash on certein solemn dayes but not often. There is also another cast of people called Percees,<sup>7</sup> which are those who flicie the cruilty of their<sup>8</sup> first promoteers (of) the Mahometen religion in Persia,

<sup>1</sup> Palmyra or Palm trees.

<sup>2</sup> Edwardes (Gazetteer, II, 66) translates this as Mhowra spirit ; but did mhowra trees grow in Bombay then any more than now ? It seems more probable that it is the strongest distillation from toddy mentioned under its corruption " Fool's Rack " in Hobson-Jobson, 356.

<sup>3</sup> The Commissioners who took over Bombay from Captain Young in 1669 stated that there were 38 Bhandaris, " each paying one seraphin per mensem and obliged to serve as armed soldiers at their own costs and charges." (Foster, 246). Again Aungier in his General letter of 21st December 1672 (O. C. 3722) wrote that " their duty is that 30 of them daylie are to waite at the Fort to attend armed at your Governor or Deputy Governor's order," the only cost being " one Coate of Perpetuanas yearly for each man."

<sup>4</sup> This was probably the original shrine of Mumba Devi, from which Bombay is believed to take its name, and which is known to have stood near the Phansi Talao or Gallows Pond, a site now included in the enclosure of the Victoria Station (Edwardes, I, p. 21 and III, p. 357).

<sup>5</sup> There is no information as to the identity of this shrine.

<sup>6</sup> The temple of Walkeshwar, the " Sand Lord," built about 1000 A.D. Edwardes, III, p. 359).

<sup>7</sup> Parsis.

<sup>8</sup> *Sic.* In the other two copies the words are more correctly given as the first promoters of."

settle themselves in India, where they enjoy their old rights and customs unmolested, their religion being very ancient left them by their great prophet Zertusht,<sup>1</sup> differing from all others in these parts of the world. They are an industrious people and ingenious in trade, therein they totally employ themselves; there are at present but few of them, but we expect a greater number haveing gratified them in their desire to build a bureing place for their dead on the Island.<sup>2</sup>

All provisions and sustenance necessary for life are procureable at Bombay, to wit, all sorts of corne and graine for man and beast; there is beife, mutton, veal, lamb, porke, henns, ducks, geese, fish, &c., very good in their kind and sufficient quantitys to be gott; but not all the produce of the Island itselfe, the greatest part being brought in from the neighbouring maine and Islands, for the people are soe much increased since the English settled thereon that its owne product doth not feed halfe the inhabitants; and indeed what Colony, Plantation, Citty or mart of trade is there in the world that more or less doth not need the assistance and commerce with forraigne parts for its supply, even in necessarys for life, as well as those for pleasure, pride or luxury. The famous and plentiful Cittys of London and Amsterdam, cannot well maintain themselves without it, much less the poore and narrow limited Island Bombay, yet as poore and narrow limited as it is, we are bold to affirme that if all the wast over flowen grounds were recovered (which is certainly feasible) and well manured, there would in few years by God's blessing be rice and other graine, sufficient to maintaine the Inhabitants, were they double the number they now are, and that without helpe from forraigne parts; and for other provisions there will never be want soe long as we have peace with our neighbours. Only this is observable, and not to be wondered at, that as the people encrease soe provisions grow proportionable deare, which we find by daily experience, all sorts of provisions being double the price they were formerly, and will yet grow dearer

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<sup>1</sup> Zoroaster.

<sup>2</sup> On the 3rd Octobor 1673 Aungier and his Council granted a petition of the Parsi inhabitants of the Island to be given a piece of ground on Malabar Hill, on which to build a tomb (F. R. Bombay Vol. I, 94). This is presumably the oldest of the seven Towers of Silence or *dakhmas*, cf. Edwardes, III, 369.



and dearer every yeare as the Island increaseth in trade,<sup>1</sup> which we pray may not be displeasing unto your Honours, for though you will find the expense of house keeping great in your bookes, yet we hope also that you will find your publick Revenue and trade increased to a greater proportion and advantage.

Now as to the said wast grounds above mentioned, it is necessary that your Honours be satisfied, where they lye, what extent of ground there is, what probability there is of recovering them, what the charges thereof will amount to, what proffitt will accrew thereby. These wast grounds lye in severall places by means of three breaches, which the Sea hath made in the Island; whereof one very large the other two smaller. Your Surveyor Colonel Herman Bake<sup>2</sup> hath drawn a large map of your Island with great paines, care and ingenuity, wherein you will find the said places marked and measured for your greater satisfaction.<sup>3</sup> The greatest breach is marked with \_\_\_\_\_ and lyes between the point of Gregon or Balkasser hill, and the southermost point of Veroly,<sup>4</sup> containing about 750 geometricall paces in breadth at the place where the sea enters between the two hills;<sup>5</sup> the ground

<sup>1</sup> This prophecy has been amply fulfilled; and even as early as 1683 Captain Keigwin complained of the great rise in prices of provisions, see *Keigwin's Rebellion*, 74, 75.

<sup>2</sup> Col. Bake was a German, who was granted a passage in one of the Company's ships to Surat in 1670 (Court Minutes of Jan. 11th, 1670). In 1671 Aungier appointed him Engineer and Surveyor for Bombay. He married an Englishwoman on the Island (O.C. 3760). He was personally heard by the Court regarding the feasibility of Reclamation in Bombay in 1675 (Letter-Book, Vol. 5, 262). He died suddenly in 1676 after his return to India.

<sup>3</sup> It was explained in a subsequent letter that, owing to Col. Bake having fallen ill, this map was not ready. (O.C. 3910). This also explains the blanks in this part of the Report.

<sup>4</sup> Between Girgaon or Walkeshwar Hill and the southern point of Worli Island, i.e., at Mahalakshmi. The great extent of this breach can be seen from the Plan at p. 78 of *Keigwin's Rebellion*.

<sup>5</sup> The blocking of this breach was first suggested by Sir George Oxenden in November 1668 (Foster, 78); but the reclamation was not carried out until the Hornby Vellard was constructed. *Edwardes' Gazetteer* (II, p. 121) says this was during the administration of Governor Hornby (1771-84), but according to Douglas (*Bombay and Western India*, i, 140) it was built about 1752, some twenty years before Hornby's time. The work was in



like expence ; and when you have thoroughly weighed the charge and profitts of the whole, we humbly referr it to your wisdom to resolve and to strengthen us with your orders touching the following particulars—

1st.—Whether the designes be worth undertaking or noe.

2nd.—If to be undertakeing (as we hope it will appere) whether you will please to engage them and be at the whole charge thereof yourselves, or whether you will leave it to another, whether your servants or freemen or inhabitants who may be willing to raise a common stocke at their owne charge (and) Risigo<sup>1</sup> to carry on said designe, they enjoying the whole profitte thereof, paying only quit rent to the Company.

If your Honours demand our opinion touching these motions we humbly answer to the first, that we judge the designe as feasible, and worth the undertaking, for whereas we observed that the people by reason of the warr were disheartened and thinking of securing their Estates abroad, your President,<sup>2</sup> Mr. Gray<sup>3</sup> and Capt. Shaxton,<sup>4</sup> out of their zeale to the public good, and to let the people see how little we concerne ourselves for any attempt from the Enemy, were determined to undertake the recovery of a parcell of about 500 acres, as you will finde in our Consultation books ; and its also marked in the map before mentioned, but the Siddy's fleet falling just at the time into Negotan<sup>5</sup> Bay, from whence the labourers were to come, hindered the designe ; nor shall we now

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<sup>1</sup> Italian for risk. The more usual form of the word in English was *risgo*.

<sup>2</sup> Gerald Aungier.

<sup>3</sup> Matthew Gray. He was Secretary to the Council at Surat from 1659 to 1669, and Deputy Governor of Bombay for about six months in 1670. Since then he had been serving as a Member of the Surat Council.

<sup>4</sup> Capt. John Shaxton was sent out by the Company in 1671 to command the garrison troops at Bombay, and became Deputy Governor of Bombay in December 1672. In August 1674 he was suspended on a charge of fomenting mutiny among the troops, and was convicted of some of the charges against him at a trial held in November 1674. He was then sent home, but died shortly after his arrival.

<sup>5</sup> Nagothna. Aungier in October 1673 had reported to the Company that the Siddi designed to build a Fort on a little island in the Nagothna River to harrass Bombay (O.C. 3872).

enter upon it till we know your pleasure, for the tearmes are somewhat to hard, in respect of the quarter part payable at the end of 40 years.

To the Second we answere that, if the designe be profitable, why should not the Company undertake it rather then others, for 'tis certain that except the honourable Company doe undertake and be at the charge either for the whole or the greatest part themselves, the great and maine breaches will never be made up ; for none in India are able, or will be willing to deposit soe great a summe of money to be laid out for such a worke ; but if it be left to freemen or inhabitants, &c., they will only undertake to recover some few small parcells, which will not cost much charge, leaving the maine designe totally unaffected. These are our present thoughts of the whole matter, and we pray God direct your Honours in your Councells and determinations thereon.<sup>1</sup>

As to the trade of Bombay, though our generall letter treats somewhat of it, yet we shall here also discourse thereon, what it was, what it is at present, and what hopes we have of its improvement hereafter.

The Trade of Bombay before the English settlement was very inconsiderable, consisting only of coconuts and cairo,<sup>2</sup> which then yielded very little, during the time 'twas managed by the King's Governor it increased not much, but when your Honours happy Government was established trade began to take root and spring out, and spread its branches to forreigne parts. At present a very industrious and gainfull trade is driven by the Country merchants to Surat, Broach, Cambaya and Gogo, as also to Dabull,<sup>3</sup> Kelsey,<sup>4</sup> Rajapore<sup>5</sup> and Goa, to Mocha, Persia, Scinda<sup>6</sup> Bussora,

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<sup>1</sup> Aungier's advice was well founded, as shown by the history of Reclamation in Bombay. But the Company was naturally disinclined to embark on the large expenditure involved, and in 1675 and 1676 they merely authorized private persons undertaking the work (Letter Book, Vol. 5, pp. 259, 262.)

<sup>2</sup> Coir.

<sup>3</sup> Dābhol, a port in the Ratnagiri District.

<sup>4</sup> Kelshi, about 15 miles north of Dābhol.

<sup>5</sup> Rajapur in the Ratnagiri District. A factory was established here, but was given up prior to 1671 and was not re-established till after the treaty with Shivaji in 1674 (Anderson, 164, 5).

<sup>6</sup> Sind. There had for a long time been considerable trade with Sind, and there was a factory at Tatta for about 30 years till 1662.

with salt, coconuts, cairo, beetlnut, rice, elephant's teeth<sup>1</sup> bought from Mosambique, broad cloth, lead, sword blades and some other Europe goods, of which latter there is greater consumption then formerly; of Europe goods were disposed last year in Bombay 600 peeces of broad cloth, 3000 maunds lead, all the Perputuanes<sup>2</sup> and serges, all the sword blades; which goods though they yield little or noe profit, yet 'tis a good beginning and foundation laid for a future profitable Trade. This yeare we hope to put off yet greater quantity of Europe goods, if we are not disturbed by the warr with the Dutch, and more by continued disiention between the Mogull and Sevagee, who (though prosecuted by Sea and Land) by his policy and courage maintaines himselfe valiantly and grows dayly more and more powerfull; but in the meantime all trade is in a manner obstructed both by Sea and Land by reason of the Armyes and Fleets abroad on both sides, so that though we labour with great difficultyes, yet blessed be God your Island increaseth by little and little. Now the great hope we have of improvement of this trade hereafter is in respect to a greater consumption of Europe goods and the procureing of considerable quantitys of goods and druggs proper for the Europe markets, to effect which we are endeavouring all wayes possible to open a secure way of trade to the Island (from) Cityties of Decan, to wit, Juneer,<sup>3</sup> Orungaband,<sup>4</sup> Raybag,<sup>5</sup> Hubily,<sup>6</sup> Vizapore,<sup>7</sup> which when we shall bring to effect (for we trust God's blessing will in time assist us therein) we doubt not but to put of near as great a quantity of Europe commoditys in Bombay and the neighbouring parts as we

<sup>1</sup> This was then a common expression for ivory, and corresponds to the Sanskrit *ibha-danta* and Hebrew *shen-habbin*, appearing in the passage in I Kings, X, 22, about Solomon getting "ivory and apes and peacocks" from Ophir.

<sup>2</sup> A kind of woollen twilled cloth much exported from England to the East in the seventeenth century (*Hobson-Jobson*, 699.)

<sup>3</sup> Junnar in the Poona District.

<sup>4</sup> Aurangabad.

<sup>5</sup> A village now in the Kolhapur State. It was formerly a trade-centre for pepper (cf. Foster's *English Factories in India*, 1655-60, pp. 234, 246).

<sup>6</sup> Hubli.

<sup>7</sup> Bijapur.



doe in Surat, and that without interfering with or lessening the consumption of said goods in Surrat ; and also to procure from said places sufficient quantitys of cloth and drugs proper for Europe as will lade 3 or 4 good ships a yeare. We also designe when we have peace to drive a good trade to Mocha, Persia, Bussora, Sinda<sup>1</sup> and Patan,<sup>2</sup> and the Maldivaes and Malabar Coast, from whence we shall be supplied with mirrh, aloes, olibanum,<sup>3</sup> coho<sup>4</sup> seed, tinkall,<sup>5</sup> sena,<sup>6</sup> red earth,<sup>7</sup> carmania<sup>8</sup> wool, putchcock,<sup>9</sup> skines, corryes,<sup>10</sup> pepper and Cordamons<sup>11</sup> and other goods proper for Europe and the South Seas, and that at as cheape and rather cheaper rates then they cost you in Surrat ; but this will be a work of time, patience and industry, assisted by the divine blessing, which we pray may never faile our just and upright endeavours and cares in your service.

In the next place we shall treat of the natural strength or weakness of the Island in respect of its defence and security against a forreigne enemy.

The Island Bombay lying low and the Sea having made many Bays and inlets there into, renders it open and insecure to the

<sup>1</sup> Sind ; see note 6, page 24.

<sup>2</sup> This may be Patan in the Baroda State, but the context makes it more probable it was outside India. Possibly it refers to Patani in Java where the Company had a factory till 1623, or more probably to Patani in the Malay Peninsular on the Gulf of Siam, which was then a "staple port for Surat shipping" (Capt. Hamilton's "New Account of the East Indies," Argonaut Press edition of 1930, Vol. II, 84).

<sup>3</sup> An aromatic gum resin, formerly used as a medicine, but now chiefly as incense.

<sup>4</sup> Coffee. Fryer also calls it Coho or Cohor.

<sup>5</sup> Borax from Persian *tinkar* (*Hobson-Jobson*, 923).

<sup>6</sup> Senna.

<sup>7</sup> Red ochre.

<sup>8</sup> Carmania was the name of an ancient province on the Persian Gulf.

<sup>9</sup> The fragrant root of the plant *Costus*, a product of the Himalayas in the vicinity of Kashmir (*Hobson-Jobson*, 744).

<sup>10</sup> Cowries. These were at one time imported into England in considerable quantities for use in the African slave trade (*Hobson-Jobson*, 270)

<sup>11</sup> Cardamoms.

invasion and assaults of any forreigne enemy, that can by his power make himselfe master of the Sea ; besides which there are three much more dangerous places, to wit, fords or shoales in the river or arm of the Sea which encompasseth the Island, by which horse and men may passe to the Island on foote at low water. One of these places is at Mochem,<sup>1</sup> the second at Sion, the third at Mahim ; those of Mochem and Mahim are more difficult and dangerous to be passed, the river being there large and wide and full of mud, but that at Sion is easily fordable, being sandy and a little distance over, which is the reason that a small watch is constantly kept there to prevent the souldiers or other male contents<sup>2</sup> and fugitives from running away, notwithstanding which, we cannot totally prevent it. Now your Honours may please to remember that some proposalls have bin formerly made you, that all the said inlets and landing places, which are about 12 in number, might be fortified in order to render the Island more secure ; but we give no such advise, for having viewed and seriously considered all the said places, round the Island, we judge such a designe unnecessary being of a vast charge, and when done would require more souldiers, gunns and ammunition to maintaine then ever we shall be able to spare ; and in such case the places soe fortified would prove more advantageous to an enemy then to us, so that we have totally laid aside those thoughts ; only at Mahim and Sion we judge it highly necessary that small platforms be raised of earth,<sup>3</sup> with a line or parapet and guard houses to shelter our men, which will be finished with no great charge, nor will require much expence of men or ammunition to maintain. We intend alsoe in the river or fords of Mahim and Sion to sinke some quantityes of sharpe craged stones, some pieces of old timber stuck with spikes and nailes, and to have a good number of crows feet and spik balls in readiness to gall either horse or foot that shall endeavour to pass those fords, which together with your small frigatts and boats well manned, will we trust be sufficient to prevent the sudden surprize of any enemy's

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<sup>1</sup> See note 6, page 13.

<sup>2</sup> Malcontents.

<sup>3</sup> Edwardes in his extracts from the Report (Gazetteer, II, p. 67) wrongly turns this into " platforms . . . have been raised."

landing in said places.<sup>1</sup> Now we have greater apprehension of danger from an Europe enemy then from any of our Indian neighbours. As to the latter we resolve never to quarrel with them, but rather to endeavour an universall peace with all the princes of India, for soe your policy and interest requires for the better carrying on of your Trade; and though many times by meanes of violent seizures, confiscations, plunderings and depredations of your Estate, and unjust obstruction of your landable commerce, we may have occasion of controversy with some of our neighbours, yet we hold it greater prudence to accommode such differences peacably if possible rather than to fall into an open warr or hostility; and as to an Europe enemy we will endeavour to strengthen ourselves the best we can and trust that God's good providence will protect us and that you will please in your great wisdome to supply us with men and arms sufficient to oppose them.

The Castle of Bombay when finished will be of great strength and security to the Towne and to the whole Island. It lies upon a neck of land conveniently laid between two Bays; it is a quadrangular fort, whereof three points command the port, and the two small Bays; the fourth with two of the others commands the Towne, and the plaine before the Castle. It is of a small circumference and irregularly built, through the ignorance of the Engineers who drew the line and laid the foundation at first, the longest curtaine to landward being not above 58 paces, but it is very strong and being small will require fewer men to maintaine it. The wall in height to landward is 27 feet, in breadth 25 feet, consisting of an outward and inward wall of stone and a terepheene<sup>2</sup> of earth; the two curtaines or platforms to seaward are in height about 20 feet, in breadth 42 feet, on which may be mounted about 36 pieces of ordnance, besides those on Bastions. Three Bastions are already finished, sufficiently strong and capacious, on which are mounted 50 pieces of ordnance, in compleat and well made carriages

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<sup>1</sup> It was off Mahim that the Dutch fleet in February 1673 threatened a landing (O.C. 3760) and precautions there were naturally thought advisable. Five other guard-houses were erected in 1681-82. (*Keigwin's Rebellion*, 67).

<sup>2</sup> Terreplein. This denoted the upward surface of a rampart behind the parapet, on which the guns are mounted.



besides those on the platformes ; the other Bastion to seaward will not be finished till next yeare for want of materialls, soe that when the Fort is compleated there will be 40 gunns ready mounted thereon.<sup>1</sup> Within the fort there are powder roomes sufficient to conteine 2,000 barrells of powder with shott and other ammunition necessary, together with convenient Armorys, Granarys for corne, flesh, fish, bisquet and other stores necessary for life. About the middle or centre of the Fort is the Governor's house, built formerly by the Portugalls but was burned by the Arabs of Muscat when they surprized and tooke the Island from the Portugese in anno 1661 ;<sup>2</sup> soe that when the English tooke possession of the Island there was little more than the Walls left,<sup>3</sup> but since it came into the Company's hands it hath bin much repaired. The front is faire and beautifull enough, but the roomes within are not soe well contrived as we could wish either for lodging or other accommodation, yet by degrees we are endeavouring to render it more and more capacious, for roome is much wanted in it for many necessaries which time will supply.<sup>4</sup> Under the Walls are raised lodgings for the souldiers with Corps duguard, &c. One grosse error committed by the Engineers who drew the first line of the Fort, was in not taking in the faire and large tanke or spring of fresh water now without the wall about 100 paces, which easily might have been taken in, with the same or rather less charge then now the Fort will stand in ; besides which they damed up a good spring of water, now closed and covered under one of the Bastions, which evill they remedied by making a large tanke or cesterne for raine water at no small charge ; which though capacious enough and yearly filled by the raines, yet must not wholly be relyed on in regard it

<sup>1</sup> Fryer's account, which was later, gives 120 pieces of ordnance as mounted on the Fort, besides 60 fieldpieces on carriages, ready for use outside (i, 170).

<sup>2</sup> The " Great House " as it was styled, was also burnt in the attack on Bombay by an Anglo-Dutch fleet in October 1626 (Foster, 1624-29, p. 143).

<sup>3</sup> In his General Letter to the Company, dated 15th December 1673 (O. C. 3907), Aungier describes Bombay, when the Company took possession, as " a wild despicable place without Fort, house, ground or any conveniency, lodging or accommodation for the necessaries of life, much lesse for defence or merchandize ".

<sup>4</sup> Fryer also makes the same complaint (i, 171).

may be spoiled and broke by Granadoes,<sup>1</sup> soe that except we can find another spring which we are not totally out of hopes to effect, there will be a necessity of making some other cisternes to hold raine water within the Fort in case of a siege. Another grosse error committed by the first builders was in not sinking a ditch or mote about the Fort when they first raised the wall ; from which ditch they would have been supplied with stone sufficient to build the outward and inner wall, and with earth to fill the terrapheene<sup>2</sup> between, whereas they were constrained to bring the stone and earth from a far greater distance at vast expence of money and time and renders the making of the ditch or mote a double charge to the Company.<sup>3</sup> Without the Castle are raised a fause bray<sup>4</sup> 20 foot from the wall, and two horne workes ;<sup>5</sup> the parapet of the fause bray is 6 foot high and 3 foot broad ; one of the horne workes is run out from the north-west curtaine and will be 16 foot high and 14 foot broad and encloseth the tanke or spring of fresh water above mentioned ; the other horne worke is carried out from the south-west curtaine of the same height and breadth, both which will be of great strength and security to the Fort, and will keepe an enemy at such distance that their Granadoes will not doe much mischief soe long as we can maintaine them. Those workes of the fause bray and horne workes are but new begun ; for quicker dispatch and to save charge they are made only of earth and to be covered with turfe, which the raines will in time settle and

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<sup>1</sup> Hand-grenades. *Granado* is the Spanish form of the missile, so named from its likeness to a pomegranate, being filled with combustibles as that is with seeds (*Skeat's Etymological Dictionary*, 183).

<sup>2</sup> See note 2, page 28.

<sup>3</sup> Aungier and his Council on 23rd April 1675 sanctioned an attempt by one John Grantham to blast away the rock with gunpowder in order to make a mote round the Fort. (F. R. Bombay, Vol. II, p. 59). But according to Burnell, though the work was begun, it was subsequently abandoned.

<sup>4</sup> A small earthen mound, derived from French *fausse*, false, and *braie*, an outer wall or screen (literally a child's diaper).

<sup>5</sup> A "horn-work" is defined in the Oxford Dictionary as a "single-fronted outwork, the head of which consists of two demi-bastions connected by a curtain and joined to the main body of the work by two parallel wings. It is thrown out to occupy advantageous ground which it would have been inconvenient to include in the original enceinte."

render as strong against any battery as the wall of the Fort itself.<sup>1</sup> A ditch also is sunke without the said horne workes, out of which the earth is taken to raise them, which will render them the less chargeable; these two horne workes will defend the two Bays on each side of the Fort, and hinder an enemy from landing their men. Before we had news of the Dutch Fleete coming against the Island the last yeare, we had begun another outworke of earth, cannon prooffe, containing one large Bastion and two halfe bastions, with a ditch without it, out of which the earth was taken to raise the worke, the line was drawne paces from the Fort. The chiefe designe therein was that we might have roome to shelter and protect the merchants and inhabitants of the Towne with their goods in case of any suddain surprize from an Enemy; wherein also ware-houses and storehouses for corne and provisions might have bin built, as well for the Companys as for the merchants, in regard the Fort is soe narrow and streight limited, that it hardly containes roome enough for the Garrison souldiers, with ammunition and stores necessary; but being but newly begun, the certain information of the powerfull Dutch fleet coming against us, caused us to demolish it, and to bring our worke into a narrower compasse, the coconut trees used thereon being employed to raise the horne workes before mentioned; but we doe not totally lay aside that good designe,<sup>2</sup> for some care must be taken of the merchants security, otherwise upon every noise of war they will forsake the Island.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> On the other hand Fryer says (i, 304) that Capt. Shaxton quarrelled with Aungier over their utility, and describes them as "Pallisaddes in mud, so contrived that they were rather a means to take than to defend it (the Fort), which afterwards were all washed away by the Rains."

<sup>2</sup> According to Burnell, some works including "a large angular covered way with banquets" were subsequently raised on the land-side of the Fort, and it has been surmised that the old tunnel recently discovered on the site of the present main-line terminus of the G. I. P. Railway formed part of them.

<sup>3</sup> Thus Aungier in March 1673 (O. C. 3760) wrote to the Company: "The common people upon the noise of the Dutch fleete generally fiedd away into the neighbouring partes, insomuch that the Island was left quite naked, and of neer 4,000 Christians which were numbered on this Island there remained few more than 200, and those miserable followers kept against their will."

The Island is happy in severall Bays and Havens for shipping, for their security against the violence of the Sea and weather, as also in Docks to hale<sup>1</sup> them ashore, to clean and repaire them, together with very convenient places to build and launch shippes and vessells from 400 to 40 tons burthen. The great Bay or Port is certainly the fairest, largest and securest in all these parts of India, where 100 saile of tall shippes may ride all the yeare safe, with good morage, the Bay being land locked against all winds but the South, and by west, and So. West, which though it blows violently in the raine times, yet for these two yeares past ships of 400 tons have wintered, one against the Fort continuing afloat all the raines. In the small Bay to the northward of the Castle ships of 400 tons have bin haled ashore to repaire, there being 15 foot water at the Springs, but this Bay hath bin almost spoiled by the improvidence of those who first began to build the Fort, who broke the rocks which keept of the violence of the Sea, and carried away the stones to the Fort,<sup>2</sup> whereas they might have had them cheaper out of the ditch and mote ; this evill we are endeavouring to remedy by casting more stones there to keep of the Sea, and secure the ships, which will be a worke of time. In the lesser Bay to the northward of the Fort ships of 300 tons may be haled ashore, to repaire and lye dry. At Mazagon ships of 200 tuns may be haled ashore, also at a place called Drungo<sup>3</sup> there is an excellent Bay where 50 saile of 200 tuns a peece may winter and repaire very

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<sup>1</sup> Haul.

<sup>2</sup> On the other hand the Commissioners who took over the government of the Island from Capt. Young on the 13th November, 1669, declared that "many rockes in the mouth of the small bay being broken, the entrance thereunto is much cleared." (*Foster*, 246).

<sup>3</sup> This is possibly a corruption of Trombay or Trumbay, as it was sometimes spelt. The substitution of D for T is easily explicable; thus Salsette was sometimes spelt "Salzede" (*Khan*, 518). The termination "go" instead of "bay" may be due to the fact that Trombay was then also known as "Baragaon" or "Baragone" (*ib.* 481, 519, 530), so Trungo or Drungo may have been a composite variation. This suggestion is supported by Fryer's Map of Bombay, which shows "the Riding Place for Winter" near Trombay.

safely. For small frigatts,<sup>1</sup> Gorabs<sup>2</sup> and other vessells there are very many places, insomuch that if there were 500 saile or more of them, there would be roome enough for them to ride either afloat or hale ashore with safety, soe that the Island (is) as it were by Providence appointed a mart for trade and shipping to which we pray God grant increase.

The Government of the Island now established is managed in this following order, as it respects religion, the civill authority, administration of justice and the Militia. Religion<sup>3</sup> is observed and promoted by all the English in the purity and freedome of the Evangelicall doctrine used in England. The Lord's days are strictly observed in the pious exercise of morning and evening prayer, and preaching of the word, which for want of a church<sup>4</sup> is performed in the Gallery of the Governor's house at the Fort. Churchwardens are appointed chosen yearly, for examination of the lives and conversation of the people, taking notice of all disorders in religion, breach of the holy sabbath, prophanesse, swearing, drunkennesse and other licentiousnesse, the offenders wherein are cited and warned in every Session,<sup>5</sup> and when found guilty are severely punished according to the nature of their crimes.<sup>6</sup> In the week dayes morning and evening prayers are duly performed ; at solemne times the Holy sacraments are administred, and

<sup>1</sup> This word originally meant a light and swift galley for river work, and was extended later to larger vessels.

<sup>2</sup> More generally called "Grabs". They were small vessels much used by corsairs. The name is said to be derived from Arab. ghorāb, a raven (*Hobson-Jobson*, 391).

<sup>3</sup> Great stress was laid by the Company on the performance of religious worship by all their Factors, etc., and this passage agrees with the contemporaneous account of the Surat factory given by Streynsham Master, which is quoted in full in Yule's *Hedge's Diary*, Vol. ii, p. cccli, and partly in Rawlinson's *British Beginnings in Western India*, p. 124.

<sup>4</sup> See note 4, page 17.

<sup>5</sup> The Judge of the Court of Judicature, George Wilcox, in a report dated 15th January 1674, similarly writes: "Wee hold a Sessions every month .....Sabboth breakers, common swearers, common drunkards and uncleannesse we proceed (against) by information of the churchwardens, constables and other officers who attend there with their presentments." (O. C. 3930)

<sup>6</sup> Wilcox says that the general punishment was by fines.



according to the emergency of affaires, dayes of publick fast and humiliation and of thanksgiving<sup>1</sup> are set apart by authority and reverently performed by the Congregation.

The chiefe authority resides in the President and Councell of Surrat, and in their absence in the Deputy Governor and Councell for the Island Bombay. The President being now on Bombay, the offices of Government are thus administered; the President employs his time in an universall care and provident oversight over all the Island, strictly observing the proceedings of all officers and offices under him, as well military as civill, keeping them to their respective dutys and execution of charges, without interfering or litigious clashing or intrenching the one upon the other to avoide confusion. He is also so seriously circumspect in endeavouring to keep peace, love and amity among the English themselves (which is his most difficult labour considering the turbulency and uncharitableness of some tempers)<sup>2</sup> as also between the English and the Inhabitants among themselves, divided in their severall casts and interests. He also takes care to prevent all violence or disorders offered to the people in generall from the English or Portuguese souldiers, to receive and answer petitions, seeing right and justice impartially administered to all. He also holds a constant laborious correspondence with all the neighbours Governments, to wit, the Moors, Sevagee and the Portuguese, whose Countrys enclosing and as it were shutting the Island Bombay, we are forced to keepe a faire yet troublesome understanding with them in their severall languages; but the Portuguese give him

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<sup>1</sup> Thus a Thanksgiving Day was appointed on St. Stephen's day, 1672, to celebrate a victory of the English Fleet over the Dutch. Aungier's description of the Procession held on that occasion is reproduced in *Edwardes' Gazetteer*, II, 62.

<sup>2</sup> Great trouble had been caused by dissentions among the English on the Island, and in a later letter (O. C. 4051) Aungier inveighed against those "turbulent spirits, who take delight to doe mischief, partly for the love of dissention, and partly of vaine glory, to be esteemed subtle, politick, hectoring fellows, who give their tongues the liberty of such foule language against your President and the Ministers of your Government that modest men blush to hear it." Aungier dealt with them with a strong hand, and Fryer (i, 170) praises him for having knit "a disaffected and incongruous Council" into "a bond of at least seeming friendship".

the greatest disturbances, among whom every *fidalgo*<sup>1</sup> or Lord of one Towne is a petty Prince, and requires as much state and ceremony as the Vice Roy of Goa. Besides all which your President supervises your trade in generall over all your Factorys in the Presidency, issuing out orders for the sale of your goods received, and providing commoditys for Europe, the paines wherein will be better knowne in our Consultation Booke and Coppy Bookes of letters then can be here discribed. Your Deputy Governor Captain Shaxton<sup>2</sup> hath charge of your Treasury, receiving and paying all moneys due and keeping strict account thereof; to him also is committed the care of the Militia, and Garrison souldiers, seeing them daily exercised and good watches kept in all convenient places on the Island, which requires his constant paines and vigilance; he also overseas the workes and labours within and without the Fort, hastening them what possible and preventing any extraordinary charge.

Your Accountant Mr. Child<sup>3</sup> hath a laborious charge in setting all your accounts, which by his paines are now reduced to a good order and method, examining and auditing the generall disbursements of the Garrison, Fortifications, Shipping, Bunder Building, Housekeeping and other publick expences, all which we endeavour to retrench and reduce to as narrow a compasse as we can; to him is also recommended the oversight of all the armes, powder, ammunition and other stores belonging to the Island, to prevent all embezzlement and unnecessary wast. Your Attorney at Law Mr. James Addames<sup>4</sup> is employed in the Revenues and

<sup>1</sup> The Portuguese form of *Hidalgo*, the lowest order of nobility. It is said to be derived from *filho de algo*, "son of someone".

<sup>2</sup> See note 4, page 23.

<sup>3</sup> John Child, a factor who became President and Governor in 1682. He married a daughter of Capt. Shaxton in 1672.

<sup>4</sup> He was a factor, who had come out in 1668, and was Customs-officer for Bombay and a Member of Council during Capt. Young's Deputy-Governorship in 1669. There were quarrels between the two, and he subsequently charged Capt. Young with the murder of his wife. An inquiry was held in January 1670 by Aungier and a special Council, who held the charge was not made out. Both Young and Adams were sent home with a view to further proceedings there; but none were taken and Adams returned to Bombay in 1671 (Foster, 252, 253). The next year on the opening of the Court of Judicature, he was appointed Attorney-at-Law to look after the Company's Land Revenue interests, as mentioned in this passage.



Lands due to the Company on the Island, to see the Company be not wronged in the rights and priviledges belonging unto them ; and in case any doubt or scruple doth arise between the Company and the people in respect of right or title, his office is to hold, plead, defend and claime your right in a legal way in your Court of Judicature ; he also searcheth the ships for the preventing and discovery of private Trade, and to his charge is committed the supplying your Garrison with all manner of provision and victualls necessary to keepe by, as stores in case of necessity.

Your Warehouse keeper Mr. Ustick<sup>1</sup> takes care of all goods received and sould, as also of all commoditys bought and made here for Europe, keeping an account of their quantitys and qualitis, weight and dementions, whose duty is to procure the expence of Europe manufactures and to increase the quantitys of goods and manufactures made and procurable on your Island.

The Judge of your Court of Judicature Mr. Wilcox<sup>2</sup> hath a full and laborious employment in that office, as we have last yeare advised,<sup>3</sup> and to his care is also committed the register for probate of wills, and inventorys of dead men's Estates, which with other dutys necessary attending his place doth fully take up his time.

These are all of Councell to your President, with whome he meets in councell 3 dayes in each weeke except sicknesse or other accidents prevent, to wit, Munday, Wednesday and Fryday from 8 till 12 in the morning at the toll of the Castle bell, to consult of the generall affaires of the Government and other necessary affaires, wherein all matters as well of Government as trade are

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Stephen Ustick, a factor and Lieutenant of one of the Garrison Companies.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. George Wilcox and some other factors had been selected by the Company in 1670 on account of their legal experience, and he mentions in his Report of December 1672 that he had been a clerk in the office of the Prerogative Court. He was selected by Aungier to be Judge of the Court of Judicature that was established on 8th August 1672 (Khan, 494, 5.)

<sup>3</sup> This was in his long General letter of 21st December 1672 (O. C. 3722) with which was sent Mr. Wilcox's first Report (or " Remonstrance " as it was then styled) which is reproduced in Khan's *Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations*, pp. 490-500.

publicly translated<sup>1</sup> and registered in the Councill Booke by your industrious Secretary Francis Day<sup>2</sup>.

The administration of justice and common right is managed in your Court of Judicature, now held in a roome neer the Fort,<sup>3</sup> till a more convenient place can be built for civill causes, one or two dayes every week, to witt, Tuesdays and Thursdays and for criminall once every month, where your said judge Mr. Wilcox assisted by four justices of the peace, whereof two are of Councill,<sup>4</sup> doe assist<sup>5</sup> to heare and determine all causes civill and criminall. Wherein all the natives and inhabitants are highly satisfied, except the Portuguese, who out of affection to their own religion and nation, and disinclination to your Government, will never be satisfied though they enjoy never soe great priviledges, but still hanker after their old way of Government though it was most arbitrary and tyrannicall,<sup>6</sup> but we doubt not time and better experience will open their eyes and convince them into a better reason.

The Militia, as we before acquainted you, is committed to Captain Shaxton's oversight; the two Garrison Companys during this time of war are raised to 200 men in each Company, whereof about 100 are alwayes employed in your Frigatts; the rest divided into four divisions keepe constant watch in their turnes at the Castle, the Guard being relieved every morning, and the Guard dismounting are duly exercised every morning, which renders them good fine men; besides which there are three other

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<sup>1</sup> *Sic.* It is a mistake for *transacted*, which appears in the other two copies.

<sup>2</sup> He was a factor, who had come out with George Wilcox in 1671.

<sup>3</sup> This was the Customs-house, known as the "Guild-hall" (O. C. 3930). The Court sat there till 1675, and a year later it was moved to the building known as "Mapla Por," which still exists in Bombay, see *Edwardes' Gazetteer*, II, 212.

<sup>4</sup> In June 1672 Bombay was divided into four "hundreds" of Bombay, Mahim, Mazagaon and Sion; and five English Justices were appointed, of which two were for Bombay. Capt. Shaxton and Mr. Adams were the two members of Council (F.R. Misc. II, 139.)

<sup>5</sup> *Sic.* ? sit.

<sup>6</sup> As to the Portuguese administration of justice, see Malabari's *Bombay in the Making*, pp. 24-38.

Companys of Militia on the Island, to wit, one at Bombay, one at Mahim and one at Mazagon, consisting of Portuguese black christians the Officers whereof are kept in pay, being most English, for the better instructing and initiating the people in the use of their armes, wherein they are very ignorant and as yet averse unto. These three Companys will make in all about 400 fire armes, besides lances, but they will serve only to make a shew, for we have already proved that noe trust is to be given them when we come to service,<sup>1</sup> for we can put greater confidence in the Moors, Bandareens<sup>2</sup> and Gentue souldiers then in them not only for their courage, but for their affection and good will to the English Government. These severall Companys are exercised once every month at least, and the Officers keepe constant watches every night in their severall precincts, for the preventing surprises and robbery, where unto by reason of our neighbourhood to the Portuguese Country this Island is very much exposed.

The publick revenues of the Island though increased much of what they were yet doe not answer the publick charge in respect to the warr. The whole amounts to neer 70,000 Xeraphins,<sup>3</sup> the particulars whereof your Honours will find at large expressed in your generall books of which the Colliarys<sup>4</sup> or right of fishing in the open Bays of Bombay, Mazagon, Veroly<sup>5</sup> and Parell are still pretended to by the Portuguese, who formerly enjoyed it as a right belonging to them; but we shall not part with anything therein till we have full orders from you. We are in hopes of

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<sup>1</sup> Aungier refers to the visit of a Dutch fleet in February 1673. In a letter about it to the Company (O. C. 3760) he wrote: "Nor can we put any the least confidence in the Portuguese inhabitants of this Island, whose timorousness and disloyalty to the English Government was much apparent, some saying they could not, others they would not fight for us."

<sup>2</sup> Bhandaris.

<sup>3</sup> Zeraphin or Xeraphin was originally the name of a silver coin, formerly current in Goa and other Eastern parts. At this time (1673) in Bombay 13 Xeraphins were worth about Rs. 10 (Foster, 52n.)

<sup>4</sup> This word is obviously derived from Koli. In Capt. Gary's rent-rolls for Bombay the "Colouria or fishermen's tribute" is mentioned, and this was presumably a tax levied on the Kolis for permission to fish in the waters round the Island (Foster, 68). Aungier successfully thwarted the Portuguese pretensions.

<sup>5</sup> Worli.

increasing the Revenue in your customes, stanke<sup>1</sup> or farme of tobacco, Arrack and wine licence, as also by the mint,<sup>2</sup> as we have formerly advised when it is thoroughly settled, and when we are well supplied with silver, copper and Tinn from England to carry it on.

The publick charge of the Island now in this time of warr, for Garrison charges, fortification, the Militia Officers, shipping, &c., is excessive, as before we have hinted. You will find the particulars at large described in your Bombay Books of accounts. Our care is most seriously and conscientiously employed in retrenching and lessening the said charge what possibly we can; when it shall please God to bless us with peace we doubt not to bring them within the publick revenue, but till then it cannot be expected, considering the weak condition of the Island at present, and great power of the enemy.<sup>3</sup>

We have advised your Honours in our letter of the 23rd October of our treaty and conclusion of peace of Sevagee which tho' fully agreed on between his Envoy and us, is not yet signed and conferred by Sevagee himselfe, in regard he has bin absent, neer three months from his country, being gon with an army of 25,000 men into the King of Vizapore's Country, where he hath robbed and plundered many rich townes, and 'tis said he is fallen into the Country of Carvack<sup>4</sup> or Canara to get more plunder in those rich townes to beare the charge of his army. At his returne we shall proceed to have the said treaty confirmed, which we noe wayes doubt but he will doe.<sup>5</sup> Our whole proceedings in this affaire are at large expressed in a narrative apart, sent in double coppys

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<sup>1</sup> Portuguese *estaque*, a monopoly. The same word appears as, "stanck" in Capt. Gary's rent-rolls (*ib.*)

<sup>2</sup> Capt. Gary first proposed the minting of coins at Bombay in 1668, and a mint was established four years later (Foster, 52).

<sup>3</sup> In his General Letter to the Company of 15th December 1673 and a "personal memorial" in January 1674, Aungier explained in detail the necessity for the excess expenditure and the advantages the Island had gained by it (O.C. 3907 and 3929); but this did not prevent his being censured for extravagance and accused of a desire for "grandeur" (L. B. Vol. 5, p. 165), a charge which he repudiated in pathetic and dignified language (O. C. 4163). Cf. *Annesley of Surat and His Times*, pp. 55-58.

<sup>4</sup> ? Karwar.

<sup>5</sup> It was confirmed by Shivaji at Raigarh in April 1674. (Anderson, 164).

by these ships, whereunto we humbly referr you (as to) what satisfaction he hath promised to give us for all that he robbed at Rajapore,<sup>1</sup> as well from the Company as from particular men ; wherefore we intreat your order how it shall be proportioned when we doe receive the sum agreed on, out of which we shall deduce and make good unto your account what expences we have bin at for manadging and concluding said treaty. The remainder is to be proportioned between yourselves and the persons concerned in said losse. We have already advised that in plundering Citty of Hubily, he hath robbed about 8,000 pagodas<sup>2</sup> of your Estate there also, but he will acknowledge noe such thing, and will not make satisfaction for it, in regard there were noe English there to own and protect said goods ; yet we hope in time to bring him to some composition and allowance for that also, for he is much a friend to our nation, if to any, and exceedingly desires our trade againe in his ports. And in truth his Ports of Rajapore, Dabull, Kelcy, &c., are of exceeding and indispensable necessity for the trade of Bombay, for they will in time when your Factorys are well settled there, yield great quantitys of goods of all sorts proper for Europe, cheaper then we have them at Surrat or other places ; whereof we have now sent some musters<sup>3</sup> for your perusall, the prizes<sup>4</sup> whereof are charged as they will stand in brought to Bombay, being about 25 per cent. dearer then they may be had at Rajapore. Besides we have hopes that the trade into Sevagees Country will consume quantitys of Europe commoditys and particularly be usefull for consumption of copper pice, and Tinnys or Tinn Budgrookes<sup>5</sup> in great quantitys, which will prove of noe meane benefit and advantage to your mint, and (save ?)

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<sup>1</sup> The Mahrattas had raided Hubli and Rajapur and destroyed property in the Company's factories at those places, but it was not till 1684 that Capt. Keigwin succeeded in arranging a treaty with Sambhaji under which he agreed to pay damages (*Keigwin's Rebellion*, 98, 9).

<sup>2</sup> For the history of this word see *Hobson-Jobson*, 652. Fryer (ii, 129) gives the value as equivalent to 3½ Rupees.

<sup>3</sup> This means " samples ", cf. Fryer, i 215.

<sup>4</sup> Prices.

<sup>5</sup> Portuguese *bazarucco*. These were among the coins current in Bombay then, and 16 budgerooks went to one pice (Foster, 52). For further details see *Keigwin's Rebellion*, 32, and *Hobson-Jobson*, 121.



expençe of the manufactures of tinn. Moreover Sevagee promises himselfe to settle a wearhouse of his merchants in Bombay for the putting of great quantitys of goods which he hath lying by him, which will also increase the trade of your port and your Revenue in customes of said goods. These and many other considerations for brevity's sake omitted caused us the sooner to hasten our treaty of Peace with him, which we trust your Honours will confirme and well approve of, accepting it as a well pleasing and advantagious service to you. Had we continued to embargue<sup>1</sup> his merchants vessells, probably we might have got more from them to pay for your losse; but such violent proceedings are not pleasing to God, nor to you, nor have we any order from you as yet to take that course; nor is it consistent with your honour or interest to right yourselves that way, except when absolute necessity requires, when justice is utterly denied, and your estate totally preyed upon and consumed without hopes of restitution. In such case we as formerly advised doe humbly beg your order to doe you right by force and not otherwise; but in this your Honours may glory that you have brought Sevagee to tearmes of restitution for his robbery of your Estate, which neither the great Mogull nor the King of Vizapore nor the Portuguese were ever yet able to doe, all whose Countrys he hath sufficiently robbed.

In our last years letters<sup>2</sup> overland we gave your Honours an account of the unworthy flight of Sr. Alvaro Pires of Mazagon<sup>3</sup> and the greatest part of the Portuguese and other inhabitants, upon the arrivall of the Dutch fleete.<sup>4</sup> The desertion was soe

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<sup>1</sup> This means "impound", cf. *embarquement* obsolete for "embargo."

<sup>2</sup> The letter was dated 18th March 1672 (old style), and so is referred to as one of "last year," though the date (according to the present chronology) was 18th March, 1673.

<sup>3</sup> He was the holder of the well-known Mazagaon Estate, originally granted in 1548, see *Malabari*, 373.

<sup>4</sup> In February 1673. It was on this occasion that (says Orme) Aungier exerted himself "with the calmness of a philosopher and the courage of a centurion." Fryer (i, 170) writes, "the Dutch attempting to surprize the Islanders, found them and the Fort in so good a condition that they were glad to betake themselves to their Boats without any Booty, and the next day hoisted sails (for, said they, Bombaim been as stark as de Deel)." See also Anderson, 125.



generall and scandalous that we judged it necessary prudence to let the people know our resentment thereof; the sealing up of their houses and putting a seeming embargo for the present on their lands was the only cause that brought them back to the Island. All returned, Alvaro Pires excepted, to the number of 10,000 and upwards, and upon their submission and promise never to run away againe their lands and houses were immediately restored without the least fine or punishment; for in truth it was a time to shew clemency, pittie and moderation to a poore miserable, distracted, trembling people. But Alvaro Pires, finding his honour concerned, full of that pride and subtlety inherent in the Portuguese Fidalgoes of India, though he was in greatest fault, took a contrary course; for instedd of submitting himselfe he defyces your authority, disownes himselfe a subject of his Majesty or that he owed any fealty to him or service to you, though he had before taken the oath of fidelity,<sup>1</sup> and which was worse he makes his applications to the Generalls of the French<sup>2</sup> (and) Portuguese fleets, to the Captain of Basseen and the Vice Roy of Goa demanding justice of them, casting most scandalous reproaches against the Nation and against your Government in the presence of the French Admirall, and all the Portuguese fidalgoes. Whereupon we found ourselves necessitated to call him to a publick tryall,<sup>3</sup> for the more publick vindication of the justice and moderation of your Government, and the integrity of our proceeding; but he not appearing as disowning authority, we thought fit to proceed to sentence,<sup>4</sup> which was this, that for his deserting the Island in time of danger, disobedience to authority breach of severall Proclamations, ingratitude and notoriously false scandalls cast on your Honours and the nation, and your authority here, he was rendered

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<sup>1</sup> He took this oath on 23rd September 1670 (O. C. 4378).

<sup>2</sup> This was Mons. Barron, one of the Directors of the French factory at Surat, who was in command of 4 ships that had come to Bombay a few days before the arrival of the Dutch fleet (O. C. 3760 and Khan, 533).

<sup>3</sup> The judge, George Wilcox, was asked to submit a report regarding the legality, or otherwise, of the Signor absenting himself; and this being against him, it was ordered on 2nd April 1673 that he should be summoned to appear before the Governor and Council within 40 days (F. R. Bombay, Vol. I, pp. 27, 28).

<sup>4</sup> This was on the 16th May 1673 (F. R. Bombay, Vol. I, pp. 48, 49).

incapable of bearing any office civil or military on this Island. As to his Estate we thought not good to meddle with it, but have made his mother depositary or trustee thereof till your Honours pleasure and sentence be knowne concerning it, to whome we have humbly referred it; for as we never intended any seisure or confiscation of his Estate, but only desired to make him sensible of his misdemeanors and upon his submission to receive him againe into our favour,<sup>1</sup> soe he having given use soe high provocation by his indiscreet proceeding, we hold it necessary to let the world see that we would maintaine your right and honour. And as to his Estate we therefore have referred the judgment thereof to your Honours, first because all finall acts of justice or clemency belong unto you, secondly to convince the Portuguese that our proceeding aimed not at a covetous seisure or confiscation, but rather at the vindication of our integrity and moderation, thirdly because, if in your wisdome and clemency you shall think good to restore his Estate unto him on his submission and returne, it may be a lye<sup>2</sup> and obligation of gratitude on the Portuguese Government to express their sense of your generosity, by requiring a more civil and peaceable behaviour from the Portuguese our neighbours. Of whose ill neighbourhood violence, injurious dealing with all the inhabitants of this Island in seising their goods (and) imprisoning their persons on all frivolous pretences we have much to complaine, especially at the passes of Tannah and Caranjah,<sup>3</sup> where they force from us excessive rates, even what they please in an arbitrary way for custome, and many times when

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<sup>1</sup> This passage well illustrates the justice and moderation with which Aungier combined prompt action and firmness in dealing with disaffection or contempt of the Company's authority. His foresight and determination were fully vindicated, for after a long fight, which ended in 1677 with the Privy Council referring Alvaro Perez to the Bombay Court of Judicature for redress he made a "humble petition" to the Company, admitting misconduct and begging for pardon. Upon this submission being publicly repeated in the Court of Judicature in September 1678, he was given a free pardon and his estate was restored to him. (*Khan*, 558-560; *F. R. Bombay*, Vol. 2, pp. 30, 31)

<sup>2</sup> *Sic.* ? tye.

<sup>3</sup> This was one of the main disputes with the Portuguese after the cession of Bombay. A full account of the documents relating to the controversy is contained in Dr. Khan's *Anglo-Portuguese Negotiations*, &c.

they thinke good doe stop all sorts of Timber or provisions from coming to us, all which we judge it prudence to winke at at present in respect to our warr with the Dutch, least<sup>1</sup> they should assist the Enemy against us, which they are (for) envy and emulation's sake too much inclined to, concerning which we with great earnestnesse expect your order. In fine the whole affaire touching Alvaro Pires is drawne out in a narrative by itselfe, which we humbly recommend to your perusall and censure with his protest and our answere, that it may be presented to his Majesty in case the Portuguese shall make any noise at Court concerning it.<sup>2</sup>

As to Mr. Sterlings<sup>3</sup> and Mr. Everdens<sup>4</sup> concerns, what we have discovered to be due unto them is brought in your cash and their accounts entered in your books. For Mr. Sterlings account is due Zer. 500 and for Mr. Everdens account Zer. 262 : 2l : 60r : which you may please to make good to their respective relations. As to Mr. Portman's<sup>5</sup> and Mr. Davis's<sup>5</sup> account and remaines, we intreat you to be referred to your Generall from Surrat.

We observe your Order touching Bills of Exchange drawne from hence and hereafter shall make them payable 30 days after

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<sup>1</sup> Lest.

<sup>2</sup> Aungier, realizing that Alvaro Perez would take the matter home and get the Portuguese Government to "make a noise" about it, took great trouble to put his case fully before the Company, and the answer he refers to was drawn up with the assistance of Judge Wilcox, Mr. James Adams, and two Portuguese gentlemen (F. R. Bombay Vol. I, pp. 104, 114). The Company responded, and on the advice of their solicitor, outlawry proceedings were taken against Alvaro Perez in the Court of Judicature in 1676 Letter Book, Vol. V, p. 182, and O. C. 4378).

<sup>3</sup> The report now proceeds to deal with some matters that were left over from the General Letter to the Company. The Rev. James Sterling was one of the two Ministers sent to Bombay in 1669. He was appointed one of the Commissioners for taking over Bombay from Capt. Young, and earned great praise from Aungier for his piety and prudence (*Foster*, 240, 244, 255). He died in November 1670 (F. R. Surat, Vol. 105, p. 96.)

<sup>4</sup> This was probably the Mr. Phillip Eversden, who, being an Apothecary by trade, was appointed in February 1670 an Assistant to the Surgeon in the making of medicines (F. R. Bombay, Vol. 3, p. 46). The taking of the account in the case of both these estates had been referred to the Judge (O.C. 3722).

<sup>5</sup> These may be the Mr. Thomas Davis and Mr. John Portman, who were sent from Surat to Queda, in 1669 (*Foster*, 180).

discharge and arrivall of the ships on which they are sent. We also take notice of your prohibition touching Cochaneale, and the mulct you have laid upon it and shall governe ourselves accordingly. We have considered your prudent order for the expence of woollen manufactures that coats might be given to your souldiers on the Island gratis, wherein your goodness and generosity is manifest towards them, but seeing you have bin pleased to leave the matter to us, we have thought good to suspend your donative unto them, in regard the charge would be great, and for that we had answered the maine of your designe by a former order passed in Councell of the 15th September, that all Officers and soldiers military, as also your Factors, Writers, staffe Officers, peons, lascars, and other servants in your pay should take 1/6 part of their wages in cloth perpetuanes or other English woollen manufactures; which order though at first gave some disgust, yet by the sober reasons which we gave, by the moderate price which we set on the goods and by our owne example we have in the maine prevailed to make it passe, soe that we hope we have complied with your order as to your principall end, and we trust it will have a good influence on the expence of woollen manufactures in time, and as to the donative we reserve it for some necessary occasion, to be bestowed in case your souldiers by some eminent service in this warr, if the Enemy doe attempt us, shall merit soe great a favour.

Our Consultation booke you will find somewhat large, for we consider that at this great distance we are from you it is necessary your Honours should know the whole method of our proceedings and those reasons which guide us in passing the severall orders registered therein, and for your greater light and ease we have ordered an alphabet or index to be drawne to said Councell booke,<sup>1</sup> to the end you may the more readily turne and find out any particular matter wherein you desire to be satisfied. The charges of your Smith Shop, armorer's Shop, Cooper's Shop, Bunder expence and moodys<sup>2</sup> shop we have reduced to a certeine standing rule and order, which before was (ir)regularly managed to your great

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<sup>1</sup> These Indexes appear in the Consultation Books available in the India Office from 1672.

<sup>2</sup> *Modi*, house-steward.

charge and losse ; and though you will observe that the present allowance established is high, yet we pray you not to be offended, for in your first establishment it is prudent to give some encouragement that your people may live comfortably, which afterwards as we see occasion we shall reduce, when there are more plenty of workmen of each trade. Besides this course will prove a gaine to you for the Iron, cordage and stores of all sorts delivered out to them are sold to them at a reasonable profit, and a greater consumption will by this means be caused of them ; for our earnest ambition is to see an honest profit in your bookes for every particular thing you send us, to the end the full amount of your generall disbursements may be the more clearly demonstrated, and that those charges which appeare unnecessary may the more easily being knowne, be retrenched. It would be too tedious here to discourse on those debates we have had touching increase of trade, priviledge to strangers,<sup>1</sup> raising your Revenue, correspondence with our neighbours and other matters worthy your notices, for they will all fall under your eye and censure in said Councell Booke<sup>2</sup> ; wherein we beseech you to direct us in what we have don amisse, and to strengthen us with your wise orders and instructions, for we feare we have erred through inexperience in matters of some weight which are beyond our reach.

Your books of Accounts on the Island are also large and expressive in each respective Journall parcell, and your Accountant Mr. John Child designed to reduce those confused heads of Garrison stores, Garrison charges, fortification, &c., into some better method and order ; but receiving the accounts late, and the warr, sicknesse and other impediments intervening, hath superseded his good and laborious intention this yeare, which by the next ships you may expect.

The Register of wills and Inventorys (and) proceedings of

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<sup>1</sup> On the 10th November 1673 it was ordered by the Governor and Council that all settlers should have "freedom from all debts formerly contracted in foreign parts and before their coming to the Island for the term of 5 years beginning from the day of their first arrival", after the expiration of which they would become liable for such former debts (F.R. Bombay, Vol. 1, p. 107).

<sup>2</sup> Copies of the Consultation Books were regularly sent home.

your court of Judicature<sup>1</sup>, are also large, and we hope will be very satisfactory, wherein you may please to peruse the whole series of what hath passed in those affaires. What other books and papers are sent you will find mentioned in the lists of the respective paquet, whereunto we referr you, for we have we feare bin too teadious already ; wherefore beseeching God to give his blessing to this your Island and to us in our respective charges, that we may obtain mercy to prove faithfull in our trust, and find favour and acceptance in your eyes, we remaine,

Your Honours most humble servants

GERALD AUNGIER

JOHN SHAXTON

JOHN CHILD

GEORGE WILLCOX,

JAMES ADAMES

FRANCIS DAY.

*Secry.*

BOMBAY,  
15<sup>th</sup> Dec. 1673.

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<sup>1</sup> Under the orders of the Company these were sent home annually, but unfortunately they are all now missing, except those of 1723-24 and 1726.

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## BRIEF NOTES

### *Pañchamahāśabda in Rājatarāṅgiṇī*

While dealing with the Copper Plate Inscriptions of Bhāskara Varman King of Kāmarūpa (Cir. 600-650 A.D.), I came across the word Pañchamahāśabda and was in quest of its meaning. I found the word in one of the Gupta Inscriptions of Dr. Fleet, where (at p. 296 *et seq.*, of Corp. Inscr. Indicarum Vol. III), the late Doctor dealt with the term at great length ; and what I could gather from his note was that the term signified big sounds of five musical instruments (though not the same five everywhere) and that the personage who got this appellation (*i.e.*, Prāpta-pañchamahāśabda) was allowed to make public appearance with the band composed of those five musical instruments which of course made a great noise (mahāśabda). I also came across the term (Pañchamahāśabda) in Rājatarāṅgiṇī of Kahlana : and Dr. A. (now Sir Aurel) Stein in his "Kahlana's Chronicles of the Kings of Kāśmīr" (an annotated translation of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī) rendered Pañchamahāśabda (in verse 140 of the 4th Tarāṅga) into English, as "Five offices distinguished by the term "Great" (p. 133, Vol. I): by which he meant five such posts as 'Mahāpratihāra, etc., etc.'

Dr. Krishna Svami Aiyangar of Madras, however, in an article headed "Pañchamahāśabda in Rājatarāṅgiṇī" published in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, (Vol. I, N. S. No. 2, 1925, pp. 238-245) has disapproved of the interpretation of Dr. Stein, and with much ingenuity has demonstrated that even here Pañchamahāśabda signified five great sounds of musical instruments and nothing else. I am of opinion that the learned gentleman has not been correct in his interpretation.

The word Pañchamahāśabda occurs thrice in the same Tarāṅga (IV) of Rājatarāṅgiṇī in verses 140, 512 and 680 : and it is a pity Dr. Aiyangar did not apparently see the other passages, especially verse 680 ; he has only confined himself to verse 140 (and verses before and after it).

Verse No. 680 is as follows :—

Tasya Pañchamahāśabdān jyāyān Utpalako' grahit  
Anye jagṛhire'nyāni karmasthānāni mātulāḥ || 680.

But in order to get a full import of the verse, its previous one should also be quoted :

Padmotpalaka Kalyāṇa Mamma Dhammaiḥ sa mātulaiḥ  
Bālakāḥ pālyamānobhūt pṛthivībhoga bhāgibhiḥ || 679.

The translation of verses 679 and 680 is as follows :—

The young (King) was being nurtured by his maternal uncles Padma, Utpalaka, Kalyāṇa, Mamma and Dhamma who shared (with the young King) the enjoyment of (the power over) earth (*i. e.*, Kingdom). 679.

The Elder one Utpalaka took the (King's) Pañchamahāśabdas (*i. e.*, the five offices with 'Mahā' prefixed to them) and the others took other offices (*i. e.*, posts of administrative works). 680.

I hope the interpretation of Pañchamahāśabda, as made above, can, with no ingenuity, be rendered otherwise, and certainly the Senior of the five ambitious guardians of the King (*i. e.*, Utpalaka) would not have been satisfied with mere sounds, however big, of whatsoever musical instruments.

The term as occurs in verse No. 512 can be interpreted any way ; but none can dare say that even here the word Panchamahāśabda does not mean five karmasthānas (offices) as is clearly the meaning in verse 680. The verse is :—

Mantri Pañchamahāśabdabhājanam jagatibhujāḥ  
Tasmin Jayapure kotte Jayadatto vyadhānmaṭham || 512.

Jayadatta, the Minister of the King, who was receptacle of Pañchamahāśabdas, built a temple in the fort of Jayapura. 512.

Now let us come to verse No. 140 ; but the subsequent three verses should also be quoted for the proper understanding of it.

Pṛtāḥ Pañchamahāśabdabhājanam tam vyadhātā saḥ  
Yaśovarmanrpaṁ tam tu samūlamudapāṭayat || 140.

Ashtādaśānamupari prāksiddhānam tadudbhavaiḥ

Karmasthānaiḥ sthitiḥ prāptā tataḥ prabhṛti pañchabhiḥ ||

Mahāpratihārapīḍā sa mahāsandhivigrahaḥ  
 Mahāśvaśālāpi mahābhāṇḍāgāraścha pañchamaḥ || 142.  
 Mahāsādhanabhāgaśchetyetā yairabhidhāḥ śrītāḥ  
 Śāhimukhyā yeshvabhavannadhyakshāḥ pṛthivībhujaḥ || 143.

*Translation.*

Being pleased, He (King Lalitāditya) made him (Mitraśarman) the recipient of the five mahāśabdas, but he uprooted King Yaso-varman (of Kānyakubja). (140.)

From that time forward, over the eighteen (posts), that had been created before, (a superior) standing was obtained by (those) five places that had (thus) their origin from him (King). (141.)

(*Viz.*) Mahāpratihārapīḍā [pīḍā-pīṭha (*vide* verse 485 Taranga IV) meaning seat] the Mahāsandhivigraha, Mahāśvaśālā, Mahābhāṇḍāgāra and the fifth (142) Mahāsādhanabhaga also, with which these designations were connected, over which (places), (even) the rulers of earth headed by Śāhis became (in course of time) the presiding officers. (143.)

Apparently, by these designations (etāḥ abhidhāḥ) are meant the pañchamahāśabdas bestowed upon Mitraśarman, and the enumeration of the places, immediately after the bestowal of the great honour, could not but have reference thereto. Moreover, Mitraśarman (who did a very great service mentioned in the preceding verses Nos. 137-139) had been a Sādhivigrahika of the King and unless he was made an officer presiding over Mahāsandhivigraha (along with other situations) he would have been mortified on finding himself thus belittled rather than have felt any pleasure on getting a chorus of hollow sounds.

I notice that Dr. Aiyangar has made much of 'sa' before Mahāsandhivigraha (in verse 142) and he says that "it refers to a something already referred and seems to imply that Mitraśarman had been made a mahāsandhivigraha by being given the right of pañchamahāśabda" (p. 242, B.B.R.A.S. Vol. I, N. S., No. 2). It is enough to state here in refutation of his surmise that mahāsandhivigraha is a place only (*vide* my translation of verses 142-143) and not a designation; and that the 'sa' is merely a word to complete the foot of the verse and has therefore no

meaning at all (like 'hi' 'vai', etc., which could not be used at the beginning of a foot).

To sum up: here, in the verse 140, the term *Pañchamahāśabda* has the meaning of five *Karmasthānas* as in verse 680.

As regards *Pañchamahāśabda* occurring in other passages, as in the Gupta Inscriptions, or in the Kanarese Inscriptions, I have no objection to its being interpreted as identical with *Pañchamahāvādya*; in fact it appears to me, that the term has a different meaning in a different part of the country: in *Kāśmir*, for instance, it means five offices with the adjective 'Mahā' prefixed thereto, and in *Deccan* it may signify five great sounds of musical instruments, varying in various places.

PADMANATHA BHATTACHARYYA.

27th October 1930.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

CEYLON zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Bāhu und Franz Xavers 1539-1552. Quellen zur Geschichte der Portugiesen, sowie der Franziskaner—und Jesuitenmission auf Ceylon im Urtext herausgegeben und erklärt von G. Schurhammer und E. A. Voretzsch (2 Volumes.) Verlag der Asia Major, Leipzig, 1928.

This is a collection of Portuguese letters referring to the Sinhalese King Bhuvaneka Bāhu and the famous missionary Francis Xavier, dating from November 1539 down to February 1550. These letters were unearthed by Fr. Schurhammer from the Lisbon Archives of the Torre do Tombo.

It is not necessary to go carefully through the two volumes in order to appreciate the value of this publication. A collection of 142 contemporary documents is to be welcomed by all students of the history not only of Ceylon but even of India; for these letters often refer to the affairs of the continent, specially those of the Western Coast. The letters are critically edited with copious and erudite notes.

But what chiefly enhances the value of this work is the historical introduction written by Fr. Schurhammer. The period selected by him (1539-1550) is one of the most eventful periods in the history of Ceylon. The Portuguese were formally called to Ceylon by King Bhuvaneka Bāhu, the king of Kōṭṭē, who claimed overlordship over the whole island from very ancient times, and who is styled by the Portuguese "the King of Ceylon." His brother Māyādunnē, king of Sitāvaka, wanted to dispossess Bhuvaneka of his kingdom. On this occasion the Portuguese entered Ceylon in great numbers to aid Bhuvaneka. This was the beginning of a series of dramatic events in which the kings of Jaffna, and Kandy took a prominent part. In the meantime Bhuvaneka, in view of the increasing power of the Portuguese in the island, broke his allegiance with them and made an alliance with Māyādunnē against the King of Kandy and the Portuguese. The latter sent two considerable expeditions to their ally, the King

of Kandy, but finally this ruler won over by the threats and admonitions of Bhuvaneka Bāhu, joined the national cause against the invaders. This increase of power of the King of Kōṭṭē was viewed with suspicion by his brother Māyāduṇṇē, who finally turned to the Portuguese for help, and received from them a substantial increase of territory at the expenses of Bhuvaneka. The latter on the other hand was not idle. With splendid promises, which afterwards were not always fulfilled, he finally obtained a Portuguese army against Māyāduṇṇē, who was actually deprived of his kingdom of Sītāvaka and withdrew to the mountains of Denāvaka.

This triumph of the Portuguese encouraged them to proceed against the King of Kandy at the special request of Bhuvaneka. But the Kandy ruler, secretly advised by the treacherous Bhuvaneka, inflicted a very serious defeat upon the Portuguese. During all this time the enmity between Bhuvaneka and his brother Māyāduṇṇē continued, when eventually the former was killed by a gunshot, perhaps by a hireling of Māyāduṇṇē. The Portuguese placed his young grandson, Prince Dharmapala, on the throne of Kōṭṭē and declared war against Māyāduṇṇē, Dharmapala's father, who had been imprisoned by the Portuguese, made good his escape not long after, and began a relentless war against these invaders of the island.

Such is the gloomy end of this series of intrigues, embassies, promises, wars and murders, which characterise the history of the Portuguese in Ceylon. Fr. Schurhammer has given us a very interesting account of this short but eventful period. This appears from the letters now published by him for the first time, and supplemented by many other documents—references to which will be found in his erudite notes.

A very exhaustive bibliography precedes his historical narrative, and a complete index renders the work most useful to the scholars of Ceylon and India.

Fr. Schurhammer is to be congratulated on this excellent and scholarly production; and we can look forward to further fruit from his assiduous labour in the Portuguese Archives of Lisbon.



THE MARATHA RAJAS OF TANJORE, by K. B. SUBRAMANIAN, M.A., Lecturer in History, Maharaja's College, Vizianagram, with a foreword by P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar Avl., M.A., L.T., Reader in Indian History, University of Madras. Published by the Author, 60, T. S. V. Koil Street, Mylapore, Madras, 1928. Re. 1.

This is a praiseworthy attempt of Prof. Subramanian, to write the history of a dynasty totally overlooked by the scholars of Southern India. The only history of this Dynasty is the one written by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis in 1912; but the fact of its being written in Marathi makes its circulation very small.

Prof. Subramanian has consulted many different sources both Indian and foreign, but he has not exhausted them. A scholarly work requires a thorough treatment, as well as critical judgment and impartial views. In this sense we agree with Prof. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar that "this book has been written so as to enable the intelligent teacher of history to lay well and truly the foundation of historical studies in the Tanjore district." (p. II).

But historical methods seem to have been absolutely overlooked, as one can easily see while going through the documentary evidence in the foot-notes. The same is true of the bibliography (which, by the bye, should be given at the beginning of the book, as a thing of the utmost importance). To give a list of books with names of authors and titles of books (not always faithfully quoted) is not to give the bibliography of the subject. The whole title should be given, with place and year of publication; and occasionally even some critical remarks may be added about this or that historical source or work—remarks which sometimes are expected. Moreover one would naturally expect some difference between works containing historical sources such as "Lockman: Travels of Jesuits, 2 Vols." or "Foster: English Factories in India, 1622-1623"; and books of historical literature, such as "Dodwell: Dupleix and Clive" or "Oxford History of India by V. A. Smith."

This little brochure, patiently worked over for two or three years more, could have been much improved, since its main defect seems to be hastiness and superficiality.

KAMPILI AND VIJAYANAGARA, by N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA, M.A.,  
PH.D., MADRAS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE. Printed at the Christian  
Literature Society's Press, Madras, 1929.

The problems discussed in this little brochure by Dr. Venkata Ramanayya are vital problems in the history of the Empire of Vijayanagara; the History of the petty kingdom of Kampili, whose connection with Vijayanagara is still very obscure; and the origin of the Saṅgama Dynasty or first ruling family of Vijayanagara.

The whole book seems to have been written to defend the Telugu origin of Harihara and Bukka. There are many poems that maintain this; but Dr. Ramanayya does not mention them at all, for he very wisely acknowledges that they are not trustworthy documents. He claims to base his argumentation mainly on contemporary epigraphical records. Yet he soon realized that there is no inscription disclosing their Telugu origin. Hence he suddenly assumes the offensive, so that the greatest portion of his work consist in contradicting the arguments given in favour of their Kanarese origin and of their connections with the last Hoysala Emperors. How successful he has been in his undertaking the readers can be left to decide. Suffice it to say that he does not explain how Harihara and his brothers were at once acknowledged throughout Mysore in 1346, the year of the death of Ballāla IV, as appears in *E. C.*, IX, Bn, 47; X, Mr, 39; VI, Sg, 1; *M.A.R.*, 1916, pp. 56-57; *Madras Epigraphical Record*, 1906, p. 522; *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, XII, pp. 338, 350; etc. That he also overlooks the relationship between Vallapa-danṇāyaka, Ballāla III's nephew, according to *E.C.*, X, Mr, 10, 12, 16, 18, with Harihara I, in *E.C.*, VI, Sg, 1; *M. A. R.* 1916, p. 57. He pays no attention to the parallel information given by Ferishta-Briggs, I, p. 427 and by *E.C.*, X., Cd, 4, in connection with the meeting convened by Ballāla III, at Tiruvaṇṇāmalai for the fortification of the northern frontier of the Empire. Finally he ignores the wars of Harihara I and Bukka I against the Telugu country which are spoken of in Butterworth, *Inscriptions of the Nellore District*, I, p. 113; *E. C.*, III, TN, 134; V, Hn, 7, 70; VI, Kp, 25, VII, Ci, 13; TI, 201; X, Gd, 46; Mb, 158; XII, Tp, 9; *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 59.

One is bound to agree with the learned author about the

rule of Harihara I from Ānegondi, which thus became the first capital of the Empire ; but his theory of the transfer of the capital from Ānegondi to Vijayanagara in the time of Harihara I, as propounded on p. 33, is totally unfounded. Cf. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 127-132. One would like to know how Dr. Ramanayya explains *E.C.*, V, Cn, 256, in which it is expressly mentioned that Bukka I, "built a splendid city called the city of victory", round the Hemakuta hill—and therefore south of the Tuṅgabhadra.

Dr. Ramanayya accepts the common, but not contemporary tradition of the intervention of Vidyāraṇia in the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara (p. 33). It is strange that his acute sense of criticism has not detected in this story one of those "myths that have crept into the field of South Indian historical research in recent years" (p. 24). If one impartially studies all the available documentary evidence from the 14th century down to the time of the Āraṇiḍu Monarchs, one is bound to acknowledge that this tradition is totally baseless and uncritical. Cf. Heras, *Beginnings of Vijayanagara History*, pp. 19-35.

This impartial critical spirit is what is mostly wanting in Dr. Ramanayya's book. Otherwise these two essays disclose much learning, vast erudition and a decided vocation for historical studies.

H. H.

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AJANTHĀ, by SHRIMANT BHAWANRAO SHRINIVASRAO *alias* BALASAHEB, PANT PRATINIDHI, B.A., Chief of Aundh. (Marathi). 1930. Rs. 10.

If there are in English more than a dozen works dealing with and illustrating Buddhist Art, in Marathi there is an absolute blank ; and except for a couple of articles on the Ajantā and Ellora Caves, and photos in periodicals and dailies, and an article or two in the Marathi Encyclopædia, there is not a single book that treats the question of Buddhist Art exhaustively. In the Deccan, however, the Ellora and Ajantā groups coupled with Karla, form at once a splendid and highly developed collection of that art. The origin of Buddhist Art is lost in obscurity and ignorance, so much so that these wonders of art are believed to be the work of the Pāṇḍavas, completed during one night or according

to another account, completed to beguile their time during their period of exile. They are known as the Pāṇḍu-leṇā Caves. On this background of ignorance and myth this splendid volume on Ajanṭhā appears as a luminary of the first magnitude. This volume begins with an introduction by the Chief of Aundh, in which the author tries to evaluate such monuments as testifying to the greatness and representing the civilisation of a nation. In a preface which really is the introduction, the author writes a note on sculpture and painting, as described in ancient Sanskrit works and it extends over 24 pages. It is a fitting introduction to this work, as it enables the reader to apply the knowledge derived therefrom to the monuments of Ajanṭhā. The volume proper is divided into 8 parts: beginning with the location, route, general description about the condition of the caves, their carvings and sculpture and the frescoe paintings; the latter is discussed from various points, like outline, colour, brush, anatomy, perspective history, women's and men's garments, ornaments of women and those of men with weapons, reality, expression and ideal. Parts 6, 7, 8 are taken up by personal experiences and means adopted by the author to secure copies of the original. In an appendix, there are quotations given throwing light on the age of these caves and the volume ends with an exhaustive index. The volume is profusely illustrated and contains 80 half-tone photos printed on art paper, and these by themselves form a great feature of this work and heighten its value, especially when it is remembered that the Chief is himself a great artist. In fact the photographic representation evinces accuracy and the author's discriminating taste.

The work, admirably got up as it is, is a veritable addition to Marathi literature, and the Marathi reading public is grateful to the author. We wish the author had added one chapter on Buddhist art in relation to Buddhist teaching, since Buddhism is the first religion to make use of art for the teaching of religion. All the same, we heartily congratulate the author on his having executed the work on Ajanṭhā splendidly and express our thanks to him for having placed before the public of Mahārāṣṭra the greatness of Ajanṭhā with its splendid frescoes. He has, in our opinion, rendered distinct service to the cause of Buddhism and its art, since with a perusal of his work one's angle of vision towards

Buddhism and its art is sure to be greatly modified. The price of the book is quite reasonable.

N. K. B.

A VOYAGE TO SURAT IN THE YEAR 1689, by J. OVINGTON,  
Edited by H. G. RAWLINSON, I.E.S., Oxford University  
Press, 1929.

The history of India during the 17th century, particularly in its social aspect, would lose a great deal of its variety and not a little of its interest if it were not for the information supplied to us by European travellers in India as also by the records and journals of the servants of the East India Company. Among the major travellers, whose accounts have an all-India significance, the works of Bernier, Tavernier, Manucci and others are very well known, and their English translations or new editions of the same have been given to the world during the last thirty years or so by well-known scholars. But besides these, we have a host of others whose works have a more or less provincial interest, such as Mandelslo, Thevenot, Ovington, Peter Mundy, Dr. Fryer, Hamilton, etc. The works of the last three are now readily available in the Hakluyt Society Reprints. The first two are yet very scarce because their English editions were printed in the 17th century. The same was the case with Ovington's work until the publication of the book under review.

The Oxford University Press has in recent years produced a large number of books of Indian interest and it deserves to be congratulated on bringing out a reprint of J. Ovington's *Voyage to Surat*, the first edition of which was published in London in 1696. This new volume is in handy form, beautifully printed and contains some excellent illustrations. The Editor is Principal H. G. Rawlinson, a historical scholar who has thoroughly familiarised himself with all the details of the history of the English in Western India during the 17th century. In a valuable and informative Introduction, Mr. Rawlinson gives a detailed account of Ovington's life and career after careful research in the records of the India Office and other public bodies. He has also supplied very useful notes and an Index-Glossary.

John Ovington was a scholar and a clergyman who was engaged in 1689 by the E. I. Company to fill a casual vacancy as Chaplain

to a ship sailing for India. He arrived at Bombay where his ship was weatherbound for some months owing to the south-west monsoon. He next proceeded to Surat where his services were engaged as chaplain to the English Factory which was then in need of a minister. Here Ovington stayed for over two years and spent his time to good purpose in collecting those materials about the manners and customs of its Muhammadan, Banya and Parsi inhabitants which he subsequently recorded in his work after his return to England. This important account of social life and manners among the population of Western India is both diverting and accurate.

From the view-point of Anglo-Indian history Ovington's chapters on "The Island of Bombay" and "The English factory at Surat" are of particular interest and value. No other account exists comparable with his description of life in Bombay island 240 years ago. A passage from Principal Rawlinson's Introduction will give the reader some idea of the account.

"Ovington's picture of Bombay as he saw it is a gloomy one Aungier's schemes of colonisation has not been successful. The settlers were the dregs of humanity, discharged soldiers, 'debauched broken tradesmen and renegade seamen.' Drunkenness, largely due to the 'punch-houses,' was fearfully rife. The young women, so entertainingly described by Ovington, who had been introduced by the Company in order to keep the English from alliances with Portuguese and natives, had proved so unsatisfactory that many of them had been deported. \* \* \* \* The natural unhealthiness of the island, caused by the undrained swamps, acting on constitutions undermined by drink and debauchery, made the place 'little better than a charnel house.' Children hardly ever survived, and it was commonly said that 'two mussoons are the age of a man.'"

On the whole both students of Indian history as well as the leading public are grateful to the publishers and to the scholarly editor for making accessible this charming book of travel which is of special interest to us in the Western Presidency.



AGASTYA IN TAMIL LANDS, by Mr. N. N. ŚIVARĀJA PILLAI, B.A.,  
University of Madras. Re. 1.

This is an attempt on the part of the author to handle the problem of Agastya in the South. As a scholar and historian he aptly says, "Where the pre-scientific recorder of facts laid too much stress on one human spirit embodied in a hero, as descending upon humanity from a sphere of its own, the scientific historian, grown perhaps a little impervious to the promptings of hero-worship, tries to dissect the spirit and read therein the reactions to its environment, to the peculiar stresses and pulls which had played about it and helped it on towards its development into a full-blown personality", and strictly adheres to this. By his positive analytical knowledge he has applied the pruning knife to the myths, traditions, and anachronisms, to cut off the superfluous overgrowth in the expectation of beautiful flowers and sweet fruit. He has also ransacked the works of the oriental and occidental scholars to gather sufficient material for the paper, and has at last succeeded in arriving at the correct conclusion: "His translation to the South is a myth pure and simple, and cannot be accepted as a fact in the primitive history of the Tamilians." (p. 61).

In his exodus to the South from Pañcvaṭi Agastya went to Karavīra (Kolhāpura), Vātāpi (Bādāmi), and finally settled down in his āśrama on the Pothiyil mountain (Malaya). His stay at Karavīra is described in Padma-purāṇa, Karavīrakhaṇḍa, which fact has not been touched by the author. "The testimony of Sanskrit Literature and the early Greek writers places beyond doubt that Southern India about 400 B. C. was almost a *terra incognita* to the Northern Āryans" (p. 14), says the author about the Deccan. But George Bühler in his Introduction to Āpastamba avers, "If this statement is taken together with the above-stated facts, which tend to show that Āpastambīyas were and are restricted to the south of India, the most probable construction which can be put on it is that Āpastamba declares himself to be a South-erner." (p. XXXIV). He concludes, on a close examination of the irregular forms, in the Āpastamba Dharmasūtra, "In other words, he must either have lived earlier than Pāṇini or before Pāṇini's grammar had acquired general fame throughout India, and become the standard authority for Sanskrit authors." (p.

XLII). This means that the South was colonised and Āryan civilisation had sufficiently advanced to bring out this famous Dharmasūtra either earlier than Pāṇini or contemporaneous with him. In that case, there will not be much truth in saying that the South was not known to the Āryans in the North.

The Agastya tradition in the Rāmāyaṇa has been rightly pointed out as a subsequent interpolation; the Agastya tradition of exodus has been proved to be anachronistic and inconsistent; the Agastya tradition of ascribing "Sangama Literature," ranging over a wide field, from grammar and philology to medicine, mysticism, magic and witchcraft is dismissed with a conclusive proof that the voluminous writings are of a later date; and the Agastya tradition in later Tamil Literature has shared the same fate. Deification and hero-worship are not uncommon in the South, and Agastya was raised to the rank of a divinity, and temples to him were built at Kolhāpura and Agastīśvaraṁ in South Travancore. Like Dhruva he is immortalised by the assignment of a place in the sky as a brilliant star, Canopus. Finally, he arrives at the conclusion that, the Agastya tradition breaks down completely, because there are internal contradictions in it, and there is no unbroken continuity of the tradition with the past.

The appendices at the end are very instructive.

K. G. K.

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THE ORIGIN OF SAIVISM AND ITS HISTORY IN THE TAMIL LAND, by K. R. SUBRAMANIAN, M.A. University of Madras. pp. 82. 1929.

The learned paper published as a supplement to the Madras University Journal is a thesis by the author which brought him the Shankara Parvati Prize of the University of Madras. In dealing with this subject the author introduces the all important subject of the Nāgas, their legend, their supposed origin, the origin of their name and their cult. This seems to be the one paper in which the important subject of the Nāgas is brought into a small compass with as many authorities as are to be found in the literature of Southern India. But the Nāga tribe no doubt had its origin in the most neglected and forgotten misty past,

even prior to the time of the Mahābhārat and, may be, contemporaneous with the Vedic times. We hear of the tribe as Ahhi in the Vedas, and as Nāga in the subsequent literature and at the time of Rājatarangini. The tribe has become mythical. The residence of the tribe is much more so, although historians have tried to attribute locations to Pātāla which according to some was near the mouths of the Indus, where Alexander the Great went, and sometimes to the extreme south taking it even to Ceylon.

The Nāga somehow or other is mixed up with the cult of Śaivism. Śiva the great irreconcilable deity is imagined to have depended for his ornaments on the Nāgas (serpents). And the Southern India Śaivism, which began with this mixture of God, man and serpent, migrated to Northern India, resulting in pacifying the benevolent deity, reducing the Nāga element into the serpent, and the man has remained forgotten in the popular myth. The only remnants of this name are to some extent found in the Nāgaras or just as our author says in the Nāyars. One thing is very certain: this very strong and important tribe, whose history is very difficult to trace, had powerful kingdoms in different parts of India as testified by the names of important cities called "Nagpur" in many parts of India. The name is further kept up in the name of countries known as Ahichhatra and Ahikula.

Leaving this the author travels into the region of the several cults which emanated from the Southern India Saivism and then winds up in the present-day exhibitions in temples, architecture, etc.

The thesis is excellently written and rightly deserves the recognition of the University.

V. P. V.

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## IN MEMORIAM

THE REV. DR. ROBERT ZIMMERMANN S.J.

उपेयुषामपि दिवं सन्निवन्धविधायिनाम् ।

आस्त एव निरातङ्कं कान्तं कीर्तिमयं वपुः ॥

It is with the deepest sorrow that we have to record the death of one of our most distinguished members, Rev. Father ROBERT ZIMMERMANN, Ph.D. (Berlin), S.J. Father Zimmermann came out to India in 1914, and made St. Xavier's College, Bombay, his home as Professor of Sanskrit. He joined our Society in 1915 and served on the Managing Committee from 1917 to 1929. Since 1924 he was one of our Vice-Presidents. His health broke down in 1930 and in May last at the advice of his doctors he sailed for Europe. He passed away on Feb. 8, 1931, at Feldkirch, Austria, at the age of 57.

A very large number of students and teachers came under the spell of his enchanting personality. A fine scholar, a deep thinker, a simple child-like soul, a sincere friend, he was loved and respected by all who came in contact with him. In 1924 he was offered the Fellowship of our Society; and now that he is no more, we must publicly do homage to his modesty which prevented him from accepting so great an honour. In life his usual greeting was "God bless you": shall we not return the salutation now, and pray that his soul may rest in peace ?

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
BOMBAY BRANCH  
OF THE  
**Royal Asiatic Society.**

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**Annual Report for 1929.**

The year under review was a very important one, being the 125th Anniversary of the Society's life and the celebration of the Anniversary occupied two evenings, the nearest to the actual date of the 26th November that could be arranged on account of His Excellency's tour in Sind.

On the first day, Wednesday the 4th December, papers specially contributed by scholars in India for the occasion were read at a meeting of the Society. These have been published in Vol. VI of the Journal.

On the second day, Thursday the 5th December, the principal gathering was held, at which His Excellency the Governor presided.

A full report of these proceedings will be found in the 125th Anniversary Journal number (N. S. Vol. VI).

His Excellency the Governor paid the Society a special visit earlier in the year, when he unveiled the bust of the Society's first Secretary, William Erskine, on the 13th March. The portraits of Sir James Mackintosh and Dr. Bhau Daji and Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji having also been set up in the hall



outside the library, the entrance to the Society's rooms is now being ornamented in a manner worthy of its great history and traditions as well as rendered more attractive to the general visitor. The portrait of Dr. Bhau Daji we owe to the munificence of Mr. L. S. Dabholkar, a member, and that of Pandit Bhagwanlal Indrajī to Mr. V. P. Vaidya, one of our Vice-Presidents, and Mr. J. S. Vaidya, while that of Sir James Mackintosh, a copy of the original in the National Portrait Gallery, London, was purchased from donations specially given by members of all communities.

On the 11th March the Society bade farewell to Sir Charles Fawcett, its President for 1928, on his retirement from the Bench of the High Court and from India. The occasion was marked by an At Home given to Sir Charles and Lady Fawcett, at which about 100 members were present, and expression was given to the very great advantage which the Society had derived from Sir Charles's occupancy of the Presidential chair and to the sense of its loss at his departure.

The Society unanimously elected Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Jivanji J. Modi, a Vice-President and one of its oldest and most distinguished members, to be President for the year.

We regret to have to note the passing of two members of the Society who played a large part in its life and scholarship and were well known to many members. The Rev. Dr. Robert Scott became a member in 1882, was a member of the Managing Committee from 1893, Hon. Secretary from 1902 to 1905, Vice-President from 1908, and President in 1917. He retired from his Professorship of English in Wilson College and from India in 1918 and thereafter lived mainly in Edinburgh, but kept up his connection with India, and Bombay in particular, through correspondence and was very gratified at his election as Fellow of the Society in 1924. His was a figure well known and very much loved and respected in Bombay for over thirty years. The second name missed from our roll is that of Dewan Bahadur P. B. Joshi, who was a member of the Managing Committee in the years 1923 to 1925, and is best remembered as the principal coadjutor of Sir James Campbell in the compilation of the Bombay Gazetteer. In recognition of his great services to learning, a special presentation



of the Campbell Memorial Gold Medal was made to Dewan Bahadur Joshi in 1923. He was active up to the last in the advancement of the cause of knowledge of Bombay and its history.

A form of agreement between the Society and the Prince of Wales Museum covering the transfer of the Society's archæological, geological and copper-plate collections to the Museum for display has, after long discussion, been approved by both bodies.

It is to be regretted that for the first time in the Society's history, a member has had to be sued in the courts for recovery of books not returned despite many calls and every possible private effort to arrange the matter satisfactorily. The Society won the case in the Small Causes Court and the execution of the decree is proceeding. In the coming year two more similar cases are being carried to court—a sign of the times which scarcely encourages us to allow easier terms of membership of the Society, as certain well-intentioned members of the public desire.

A statement of receipts and expenditure is attached. It will be noticed that we have been able to finish the year without the anticipated deficit. Whilst this is so far satisfactory, it should be borne in mind that we have only been able to do this by utilising the balance of the Contingent Fund. It is, therefore, necessary that efforts be again made to increase the membership, or at least maintain it at its present strength, otherwise we shall once more be faced with a deficit. Every endeavour has been made to minimise the establishment charges and these are still being very carefully watched in order to avoid any unnecessary expenditure, but it is difficult to see how any great reduction can be expected in this direction without affecting the efficiency of the library.

#### MEMBERS.

##### *Resident :—*

On the roll on 1-1-29.	New admis- sions.	Non-Res. become Resident.	Resigned or ceased to be Mem- bers.	Transferred to the Non- Res. list.	Died.	Number of Members on 1-1-30.
488	67	4	58	16	9	476

*Non-Resident :—*

On the roll on 1-1-29.	New admis- sions.	Resident become Non-Res.	Resigned or ceased to be Mem- bers.	Transferred to the Res. list.	Died.	Number of Members on 1-1-30.
174	20	16	31	4	2	173

Of the 476 Resident Members, 46 are Life-Members, and of the 174 Non-Resident Members, 11 are Life-Members.

## OBITUARY.

The Committee regret to record the death of the following Members :—

*Resident :—*

Mr. Narottam Morarji Gokul-  
das.

Prof. P. K. Telang, M.A., LL.B.

Mr. M. L. Mehta, B.A., LL.B.

„ K. M. Minocher.

„ P. V. Mowjee.

„ V. F. Vicaji.

Diwan Bahadur P. B. Joshi.

Capt. P. A. Leyden.

Mr. M. S. Rutnagar.

*Non-Resident :—*

Mr. A. S. Sathe, M.A., B.L.

„ V. H. Naik, M.A., Bar-  
at-Law.

## PAPERS READ AND LECTURES DELIVERED BEFORE THE SOCIETY.

23rd September 1929. A public lecture, illustrated by lantern slides, on “Indian Art and Archæology”. By Dr. Kalidas Nag.

(The other papers which were read on the occasion of the celebration of the 125th Anniversary are being published in the 125th Anniversary Journal, N. S. Vol. VI.)

## LIBRARY.

*Issues :—*

Old Books.	New Books.	Loose Periodicals.	Total.	Average per working day.
25,330	13,161	30,469	68,960	237

The total number of issues in the previous year was 72,515.

*Additions :—*

The total number of volumes added was 1,203, of which 894 were purchased and 309 were presented.

Books presented to the Society were received, as usual, from the Government of India, the Government of Bombay, and other Provincial Governments, as well as from the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayat Funds, other public bodies and individual donors.

*Papers and Periodicals :—*

A meeting of the Society, under Art. 29 of the Rules, was held on the 22nd of November for the purpose of revising the list of the papers and periodicals received by the Society, and it was decided—

To take the following from 1930 :—

- (1) John O'London and Outline, (2) Prabuddha Bharata and (3) Shilpi; and

To omit the following from the same date :—

- (1) Times Literary Supplement (2nd copy), (2) Christian Herald, (3) Truth, (4) Bookman (2nd copy), (5) Science Progress, (6) Physical Culture (2nd copy), (7) Hindi Punch (weekly), and (8) Theosophist.

**THE JOURNAL.**

One joint No. of the Journal, consisting of numbers 1 and 2 of Volume 4, was published during the year. The following are the principal articles in the number :—

A. Venkatasubbiah : Panchatantra Studies. Nos. 2 and 3.

G. N. Vaidya : Fire Arms in Ancient India.

V. S. Bakhle : Satavahanas and the Contemporary Kshatrapas. Part II.

Y. R. Gupte : Archaeological and Historical Research.

E. M. Ezekiel : Position of Woman in Rabbinical Literature. Part II.

N. B. Utgikar : Some Points of Contact between the Mahabharata and the Jatakas.

Shaikh A. Kadir : Persian MSS.

A. Venkatasubbiah : Vedic Studies.

V. S. Sukthankar : Epic Studies.

## COIN CABINET.

94 coins were added to the Society's Coin Cabinet during the year :—

*South India* (17 Gold). *Durani* (1 Silver). *Mughal* (62 Silver, 4 Copper). *East India Company* (5 Silver). *Sultans of Malwa* (5 Copper).

## TREASURE TROVE COINS.

787 coins were under examination and 562 were received during the year as under :—

6	Silver	from the Collector of Ahmedabad.
77	„	„ „ Nasik.
49	„	„ „ West Khandesh.
49	„	„ District Magistrate, Satara.
381	Copper	„ Collector of Bijapore.

Out of the total of 1,349 coins, 503 were reported to Government and with their approval 483 were distributed to different Institutions and Darbars, 20 being returned to the District Magistrate, Satara, to satisfy the claim of the owner of the land where the find was discovered. 846 coins thus remained with the Society at the end of the year.

The Society's best thanks are due to Mr. G. V. Acharya, B.A., Curator, Archæological Section, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, Mr. R. G. Gyani, M.A., Assistant Curator, and Mr. C. R. Singhal, the Gallery Assistant, for kindly assisting the Society in examining the Treasure Trove Coins received by the Society. Mr. Acharya examined the Non-Mahomedan coins and Mr. Gyani and Mr. Singhal, the Mahomedan coins.

# The Bombay Branch

## Abstract of Receipts and Payments

		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
To Balance—1st January 1929.			
Cash on Current Account Imp. Bk. of India.		144 6 3	
Do. Savings Bank do. do. ..		1,200 10 7	
Do. In Office .. .. .		52 3 0	
			1,397 3 10
To Receipts.			
Subscriptions—			
Resident Life Members .. .. .		1,500 0 0	
			1,500 0 0
Resident Members .. .. .		24,119 8 0	
Non-Resident Members .. .. .		4,106 0 0	
			28,225 8 0
Entrance Fees .. .. .		....	1,560 0 0
Grants : Government .. .. .		....	3,600 0 0
Publications : Journal Sales .. .. .		....	1,004 15 9
Folklore Notes Sales .. .. .		....	4 13 0
Catalogues—			
General			
Sale Proceeds .. .. .	117 0 0		
Interest from investments .. .. .	200 0 0		
		317 0 0	
Manuscripts .. .. .		43 3 0	
Annual .. .. .		48 8 0	
			408 11 0
Sundry Sales—			
Waste Paper .. .. .		....	80 10 0
Interest—			
Government Securities .. .. .		1,715 0 6	
Savings Bank.. .. .		79 2 0	
			1,794 2 6
Replacements .. .. .		....	231 13 0
125th Anniversary Fund .. .. .		....	3,188 4 0
Mackintosh Portrait Fund .. .. .		....	826 0 0
Book Purchase Fund .. .. .		....	100 0 0
Total Rs. .. .. .		....	43,922 1 1

We have examined the above abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and we hereby certify the said abstract to be true and correct. We have also ascertained that all the securities as shown belonging to the Society are held for safe custody by the Imperial Bank of India.

W. BATTERSBY PARKS,

A. B. AGASKAR,

Auditors.



**Royal Asiatic Society.***for the year ended 31st December 1929.*

By Payment.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Office—		
Establishment .. .. .	18,499 13 10	
General Charges .. .. .	714 0 0	
Printing and Stationery .. .. .	1,372 14 0	
Postage .. .. .	379 0 6	
Insurance .. .. .	231 4 0	
Electric Charges .. .. .	577 9 9	
Provident Fund Contribution .. .. .	3,004 15 9	24,829 9 10
Library Expenditure—		
Books .. .. .	6,938 5 3	
Indian Periodicals .. .. .	563 5 0	
Foreign do. .. .. .	1,983 14 0	
Book-binding and Repairs .. .. .	1,246 2 0	
Shelving, Furniture and Fittings .. .. .	242 13 9	10,974 8 0
Publication Account—		
Journal Printing .. .. .	....	1,827 0 0
Catalogues—		
Manuscripts : Printing .. .. .	....	749 0 0
Securities purchased during the year—		
Rs. 1,500, 3½% Indian Loan 1900-01 ..	1,029 6 0	
Rs. 500, 5% Indian Loan (1929-45) ..	507 3 0	1,536 9 0
125th Anniversary Expenses .. .. .	....	883 9 0
Mackintosh Portrait .. .. .	....	810 1 3
To Balance on 31st December 1929—		
Cash on Current Account Imperial Bank of India .. .. .	892 9 11	
Do. Savings Bank do. do. ..	1,179 12 7	
Do. In Office .. .. .	37 5 6	
Loan to the Campbell Memorial Fund ..	202 0 0	2,311 12 0
Total Rs. ..		43,922 1 1

**Invested Funds of the Society.**

Nature.	Face value.	Market value.	Allocation.	Rs. a. p.
	Rs.	Rs. a. p.		
3½% Government Securities.	33,700	22,874 0 0	Reserve Fund ..	31,325 13 9
5% Do.	15,300	14,776 4 0	Premchand Roy- chand Fund ..	2,036 4 0
6½% Do.	1,100	1,157 12 0	Catalogue Fund..	4,331 4 0
			Shelving Fund ..	1,114 10 3
	50,100	38,808 0 0		38,808 0 0

EDWARD PARKER,  
Hon. Secretary.

J. S. TILLEY,  
Hon. Fincl. Secretary.



## The Bombay Branch

Budget Esti

RECEIPTS.	Budget 1929.	Actual 1929.	Budget 1930.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Balance .. .. .	690 0 0	689 4 7	7 1 0
Proceeds of Contingent Fund ..	600 0 0	.....	.....
Entrance Fee .. ..	1,750 0 0	1,560 0 0	1,500 0 0
Subn. Resident Members ..	24,500 0 0	24,119 8 0	24,000 0 0
„ Non-Resident Members.	4,000 0 0	4,106 0 0	4,000 0 0
Government Contribution ..	3,600 0 0	3,600 0 0	3,600 0 0
Sale of Journal Numbers ..	1,000 0 0	1,004 15 9	1,000 0 0
„ Annual Catalogues ..	25 0 0	48 8 0	25 0 0
„ Waste Paper .. ..	50 0 0	80 10 0	50 0 0
„ Manuscript Catalogues	200 0 0	43 3 0	200 0 0
„ Folklore Notes .. ..	.....	4 13 0	.....
Interest .. .. .	1,750 0 0	1,794 2 6	1,800 0 0
	38,165 0 0	37,051 0 10	36,182 1 0
Subn. Resident Life Members	.....	1,500 0 0	.....
Sale General Catalogues ..	.....	317 0 0	.....
Replacement .. ..	.....	231 13 0	.....
125th Anniversary Fund ..	.....	3,188 4 0	.....
Mackintosh Portrait .. ..	.....	826 0 0	.....
Book Purchase Fund .. ..	.....	100 0 0	.....
Deficit .. .. .	536 0 0	.....	.....
Balances of other Funds ..	.....	707 15 3	2,304 11 0
Total Rs. ..	38,701 0 0	43,922 1 1	38,486 12 0

## Campbell Memorial

A Statement of Accounts for the

	Rs. a. p.
Balance on 31st December 1928 .. .. .	336 10 4
Interest Credited .. .. .	222 2 0
Total Rs. ..	558 12 4

**Royal Asiatic Society.***ates for 1930.*

PAYMENTS.	Budget 1929.	Actual 1929.	Budget 1930.
	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
Books .. .. .	7,000 0 0	6,938 5 3	7,000 0 0
Subn. Indian Periodicals ..	650 0 0	563 5 0	600 0 0
„ Foreign .. ..	2,100 0 0	1,983 14 0	2,000 0 0
Journal Printing .. ..	1,750 0 0	1,827 0 0	1,200 0 0
Binding and Repairs .. ..	1,200 0 0	1,246 2 0	1,200 0 0
Printing and Stationery ..	1,500 0 0	1,372 14 0	1,000 0 0
Office Establishment .. ..	18,500 0 0	18,499 13 10	18,800 0 0
General Charges .. ..	825 0 0	714 0 0	800 0 0
Postage .. .. .	350 0 0	379 0 6	350 0 0
Insurance .. .. .	282 0 0	281 4 0	282 0 0
Electric Charges .. ..	750 0 0	577 9 9	750 0 0
Provident Fund.. .. .	2,994 0 0	3,004 15 9	1,550 0 0
Mss. Catalogue Printing ..	800 0 0	749 0 0	600 0 0
	38,701 0 0	38,137 4 1	36,132 0 0
Library Furniture and Fittings ..	....	242 13 9	....
125th Anniversary Fund .. ..	....	883 9 0	2,304 11 0
Mackintosh Portrait .. ..	....	810 1 3	....
Government Securities .. ..	....	1,536 9 0	....
Balance .. .. .	....	7 1 0	50 1 0
Balance—125th Anniversary Fund .. .. .	....	2,304 11 0	....
Total Rs. ..	38,701 0 0	43,922 1 1	38,486 12 0

**Fund.***year ending 31st December 1929.*

	Rs. a. p.
Balance on 31st December 1929 .. .. .	558 12 4
Total Rs. ..	558 12 4

**INVESTED FUNDS***Face value.*

5% Government Loan, 1929-47 .. .. . Rs. 4,500.

# Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society Provident Fund.

*Income and Expenditure Account for the year ended 31st December 1929.*

TO EXPENDITURE.	Rs. a. p.				By INCOME.				Rs. a. p.			
Sundry Expenses ..	..	..	..	..	Members' Subscription ..	..	..	..	1,511	0	8	
Amount repaid to members ..	..	..	..	..	Society's Contribution ..	..	..	..	1,511	0	8	
Balance ..	..	..	..	..	Interest ..	..	..	..	673	2	0	
Total Rs. ..					Total Rs. ..				3,695	3	4	

## Balance Sheet as at 31st December 1929.

Members' Account.	Rs. a. p.				Rs. a. p.			
Balance at 31st December 1928	13,942	0	3		Cash at Bankers ..	..	..	3,776 12 5
Add Balance for 1929 ..	3,552	12	7		Investments at Cost.			14,145 5 0
Less—Forfeitures transferred to Reserve Account ..	17,494	12	10		Rs. 13,500 in 5% Govt. Loan 1945-55 ..	..	..	
Reserve Account ..	125	11	0					
Total Rs. ..	17,369	1	10		Total Rs. ..			17,922 1 5
	552	15	7					

We have examined the above accounts together with the Books and Vouchers and found same to be correctly stated. We have also ascertained that the securities relating to the investments of the fund are held for safe custody by the Imperial Bank of India.

EDWARD PARKER,  
*Hon. Secretary.*

J. S. TILLEY,  
*Hon. Fincl. Secretary.*

W. BATTERSBY PARKS,  
A. B. AGASKAR,  
*Hon. Auditors.*

The Annual General Meeting of the Society was held on Monday, 31st March 1930.

Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, President, in the Chair.

Present :—Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri, Mr. V. P. Vaidya, Dr. G. S. Ghurye, Messrs. A. Forrington, K. H. Vakil, C. A. Muchhala, P. V. Kane, T. S. Shejwalkar, R. A. Mehta, B. M. Tarkunde, S. V. Bhandarkar, B. K. Wagle, T. M. Lowji, J. C. Daruvala, Faiz B. Tyabji, V. A. Gadgil, B. A. Fernandes, S. R. Deshpande, G. V. Acharya, C. J. Shah, H. J. Bhabha, F. W. Willis, R. D. Choksi, K. K. Menon, E. L. Everatt, J. E. Aspinwall, E. M. Ezekiel, B. R. T. Greer, M. D. Altekar, A. N. Weling, A. A. A. Fyzee, J. H. Modi, S. V. Karandikar, V. N. Patruni, A. Fotiadi, Prof. A. B. Gajendragadkar, Prof. C. R. Shah, Rev. Fr. H. Heras, Prof. R. P. Patwardhan, Mrs. H. M. Davy, Rev. J. McKenzie, Miss Shantila Desai, Major F. T. Wright, Hon. Mr. J. E. B. Hotson, Miss K. H. Adenwalla, Prof. N. K. Bhagwat, and Dr. Edward Parker.

The minutes of the last Annual General meeting were read and confirmed.

The Hon. Secretary read to the meeting letters from Dr. R. Zimmermann and Mr. T. R. N. Cama regretting their inability to attend the meeting.

Mr. J. E. Aspinwall proposed and Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri seconded that the Annual Report with the statement of accounts for 1929 and the budget for 1930 be adopted.

On being put to the vote, the Report, with the statement of accounts and the budget, was unanimously adopted.

The President then delivered his address wherein he reviewed the work of the Society during the year under report. He said :—

“ At the end of the Annual Meeting held on 25th March 1926, our colleague Mr. Vakil suggested that, at the Society's Annual Meeting, ‘ the President of the preceding year should make a speech outlining the activities and progress during the year.’ The suggestion was considered by the Managing Committee at its meeting on 8th April 1926. The question was postponed for the next meeting which was held on 25th June 1926 when the Committee left the matter to the discretion of the President. I stand before you to-day

in response to the above suggestion and propose to say a few words to-day.

The Report, just submitted by our Secretary, has placed before you a brief outline of our work during the last year. The most outstanding event of the past year was the celebration of the 125 years' Anniversary of our Society. I beg to thank our Vice-President Mr. Vaidya, our Secretary Dr. Parker, Mr. Aspinwall, and other gentlemen who helped to make the Anniversary function successful. The late Mr. K. R. Cama, one of our Vice-Presidents, presiding at the Iranian section meeting of our Centenary, had expressed his joy saying: "No other institution in Western India has reached the venerable age of a hundred years." Thanks to God, we can now say with greater joy, that last year we reached the more venerable age of 125 years. But the value of the life of a Society, as that of an individual, is not to be measured by the years of its life, but by its activities. Napoleon is said to have told his brother Jerome, that he would rather like to see his brother die at an early age than live a long life without activity.

Looking to the history of the work of our Society during the past 25 years as read before us at the last Anniversary gathering by our Secretary, we find that under the altered circumstances of these 25 years several other Institutes, which we all welcome as our collaborators, have arisen among us. Looking to the fact, that thus the results of the studies of our literary workers are divided among more than one Society, I think we may say that we have done pretty well and that we have well-nigh kept up our pace.

But quantity should not be the main criterion. Quality of papers is the most important thing. To judge of that, out of curiosity, I spent this month several hours in going over our 22nd volume, which is the volume next after our Centenary volume and took down notes, giving a glimpse of our work with my observations during the period covered by that volume, and I find that we have 20 learned papers in that volume covering various branches of Oriental Studies. Again, in this matter of comparison, we must bear in mind that latterly, we have restricted our work of research to a certain extent, and the aims and objects of our Society since its foundation have, to some extent, changed. Sir James Mackintosh founded our Society, in response, as it were,



to a demand from the learned world of Europe. He, in his inaugural speech, speaks of himself as "the representative of the curiosity of Europe". It was in England, before he came to Bombay, that he had formed the idea of founding this Society. He speaks of his work in that direction as a "mission". From the way in which he spoke of the work of Sir William Jones in Calcutta in founding the Asiatic Society of Bengal, it seems that he came with the determined object of becoming the William Jones of Bombay. He spoke of the object of the Society's inquiries to be reducible to two classes, *viz.*, Physical and Moral, using the words in a very broad sense. Among physical inquiries, he included Natural History, Mineralogy, Botany, Meteorology and lastly Medicine. Now, we have, since several years, left inquiries in these physical sciences to various other Societies and Associations. Again recently the Science Congress, held every year in the different cities of India, draws workers in those lines. So, our work is restricted to the second division, *viz.*, moral, which word Mackintosh used not in the restricted sense in which we ordinarily use it but in the sense, in which it is "contra-distinguished from physical".<sup>1</sup>

So, looking to that fact also, we have been doing fairly well. But this satisfaction should not lead us to rest upon our past laurels. There is one thing which should ask us to be more alert than the workers of the 19th century. They had to work comparatively in a barren field, with few resources and materials at their disposal. But, now, we have more resources and materials at our disposal to draw help from. Again, we have nowadays a proportionately larger number of workers in various lines whose work in their lines comes readier to our help than in the case of our predecessors.

Now coming to our work, during the past year, as said in our Report, we have published together two numbers. Nos. 1 and 2 of Vol. IV of the New Series, containing in all 9 learned papers.

The first paper is on 'Panchatantra Studies' by Mr. A. Venkatasubbiah. We find that in the matter of the discussion of some names the Pahlavi version is called to help. Oriental learning is much indebted to the Pahlavi in many matters besides this. No Indian book has gone through so many versions into foreign

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<sup>1</sup> P. XXI of his Discourse, Vol. I of the Transactions of the Literary Society, New Edition.



languages as this book of Panchatantra. It was Burzo (Buzorgehe Meher), the great Persian Minister of Noushirwan the Just (Chosroes I, the Khosru Kobad of Parsee books) who is said to have first translated it into Pahlavi and it was from his Pahlavi translation that it was rendered into Arabic and from Arabic into various languages. It was to the court of the same Persian King Noushirwan that the game of chess, discovered in India, was first carried. It is said that Noushirwan had also got translated into Pahlavi by Burzo three Adhyāyas of the Śāntiparva of the Mahābhārata. The Pahlavi translation is lost but it is said that a Syrian translation from Pahlavi is preserved.<sup>1</sup> The Court of Noushirwan was like an Academy, a place of learning where many learned men of various countries met together. The story of the Seven Greek philosophers of the University of Athens is well known. On being deprived of the freedom of speech in their own country, they are said to have gone to the Court of Noushirwan of whom they spoke as "a philosopher on the throne".<sup>2</sup> His name and fame are said to have, at one time, charmed many great men on our side. In the 16th century during the times of the Moguls who had come from the direction of Persia, the Gahilot Rajput princes are said to have taken pride in tracing their descent to this Persian Monarch.<sup>3</sup>

Mr. G. N. Vaidya, in the article headed "Fire Arms in Ancient India", discusses the question whether gun-  
*Fire-Arms in* powder and fire-arms were used in warfare in  
*Ancient India.* ancient India. Halhead, Elliot, Bohlen, Wilson and Oppert have, according to our author, said that gunpowder was known among the ancient Indians. Recently, after the discovery

<sup>1</sup> Vienna Oriental Journal Vol. 25, p. 37 (1911). *Vide* Mr. N. B. Utgikar's paper on "Our Mahābhārata Work" Journal of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Vol. IV (1922-3), Part 2, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> "Essays on the Latin Orient" by Dr. W. Miller, p. 31. It is said of these philosophers that they had become misproud in their country. "They regarded themselves as demi-gods and the rest of mankind as donkeys."

<sup>3</sup> (a) *JASB*. New Series Vol. XV, No. 1. (b) Tod's Rajasthan "Routledge's Ed. Vol. I, pp. 189-95. (c) Jarret's *Āin-i Akbari* II, p. 268. This view of the descent of the Rajputs from Noushirwan is now attempted to be disproved by Mr. R. R. Hilder in the *Indian Antiquary* of September 1927, p. 169.

of Kautilya's Arthaśāstra (written in about 320 B.C.) by Dr. Shama Shastri, to whom our Society has awarded its Campbell medal for his discovery, that work also is brought into use to support the above view. Our author says that fire-arms were used by the ancients but these fire-arms were nothing like our modern guns in which gunpowder is used for explosion, but they were some instruments from which arrows with burning rags or something like these were thrown towards the enemies. After critically examining the whole question from various points of view, our author concludes that gunpowder was not known to the ancient Hindus.

In this connection I beg to draw the attention of our members to an article in the East and West of September 1919 on "The Ancient Indian Navy" by Mr. S. K. Swami. The author says that the art of building ships existed in India from ancient times and Indians went to Germany and even to England about 800 years before Alfred the Great. This author also says that in the 4th century A. C. they manufactured Gunpowder here and used guns. Indians had guns in the time of Alexander the Great. The ships of those times called *bagga* or the *budyerow* were 74 feet long, 25 feet broad and 11½ feet deep. Their tonnage was 150 tons.

Mr. V. S. Bakhle's paper on the "Satavahanas and the contemporary Ksatrapas" suggests, here and there, some points of comparison with the institutions of ancient Iran. Mr. Bakhle begins his paper by saying: "The system of governing during the period was certainly monarchical" (p. 39). That was the case in ancient Iran also. It seems that, in the early period of all Aryan or Indo-Germanic States, that was the case. But their monarchy was "limited monarchy". If there was any despotism, that was of later growth. In the times of what we may call the pre-historic history of Iran, i.e., the history of times anterior to that of which the history is determined by chronology, there was limited monarchy. Loyalty to the ruling monarch was the ruling characteristic, but the loyalty was not blind loyalty. As said by Mr. Bakhle, though there was no "organised institution of state to voice forth the people's view", (*ibid*) still, the people "had a voice in the administration and enjoyed local self-government". (*ibid*). I think that, that was true of many branches of the ancient

Aryan or Indo-Germanic stock. That was true of Iran and that was true of ancient Germany and even of ancient England. In this connection I will draw the attention of members to my paper on "The Ancient Germans. Their History, Constitution, Religion, Manners and Customs", read before the Anthropological Society of Bombay.<sup>1</sup> In the case of ancient Germany, we not only see something like the "Nigamasabhā or the Township Corporation" (*ibid*), mentioned in the Kṣaharāta inscription at Nasik, but parallels of the customs of Sati,<sup>2</sup> prohibition of widow marriage, and of inter-marriage as prevalent in India. Of the Indian administrative divisions, referred to by Mr. Bakhle, *viz.*, Deśa or Rāṣṭra at the head, followed by Viṣaya, Āhāra and Patha or Pathaka, we have a parallel in ancient Iran in its division of nmāna, viṇa, zantu and danghu, the administrative heads of which were spoken of as nmānō-paiti, viṇ-paiti, zantu-paiti and danghu-paiti. The wives of these administrators also held some status in Society and were spoken of with respect as nmano-pathni, viṇ-pathni, zantu-pathni and danghu-pathni. Mr. Bakhle speaks of Maṇḍala as being used later on, for Deśa or Rāṣṭra. We see this in the case of the town of Naosari, the headquarters of the Parsee priesthood, which is spoken of in later documents as Nag mandal.

Among the officers of the Court, there was the Lekhaka, whom M. Senart and others took to be, in the literal sense of the word, a mere writer, but Mr. Bakhle takes as "a high ministerial officer" analogous to our modern "Secretary to Government". I think he is right, because we find from the Shāhnāmeḥ, that a navisandeh, which, like lekhaka, means a writer, held a high post in the royal courts of ancient Iran. Among the military officers, the Senā-pati, referred to in the paper, corresponds to the Sepāh-būd of the Iranians.

On the subject of the four varnas, we read in the paper: "Whatever the condition of the four varṇas in ancient times, however strict the restrictions about connubium and comentality

<sup>1</sup> Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. X., pp. 636-82. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers Part II, pp. 255-301.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* my Paper on "The Antiquity of the Custom of Sati", Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIII, pp. 412-24. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part IV, pp. 109-21.

during the early part, at any rate, of the period we are considering there was undoubtedly considerable amalgamation between them during the regime of the foreign Kṣatrapas". (p. 49.) These foreign kṣatrapas or satraps were from the direction of Iran and so, possibly, they helped or encouraged the amalgamation. I will here draw the attention of members, interested in the question, to my paper "Whether there was Caste in Iran"<sup>1</sup>. In ancient Iran, there was something like a caste system, only as far as the different professions or trades were concerned, but not in the matter of interdining or intermarriage. So, the foreign Kṣatrapas from the direction of Iran, perhaps, encouraged here what they had in their own country.

Mr. Y. R. Gupte's paper on "Archæological and Historical Research. Its scope in the Satara District" is interesting from several points of view. Mr. Gupte very properly says, that "Archæology has of late attracted the learned world". Thanks to the energy of Sir John Marshall, whose name with that of Lord Curzon who procured for us a John Marshall, will be long remembered. We reap excellent harvests in the fields cultivated by the Science of Archæology. This paper creates, among general readers, a taste for archæology, which Mr. Gupte very properly explains in its very broad sense of "the science of antiquities or a treatise on ancient usages, customs, architecture and so forth" (p. 82.) So one can be a little of an archæologist without holding or directing a spade for excavations.

In this connection I beg to draw the attention of members to a great field for archæological work in the Salsette which is almost next door to us. While having a glimpse into the work of our Society during the last 25 years, looking into the first volume of that period (Vol. XXII), I read in the Annual Report of 1905, that our Society had secured "three Hindu figures of black stone of about the 9th century A.D. from Parjāpur, Salsette". We know, that before the rise and growth of the city of Bombay, Salsette was the seat of commercial and ruling activity and Parjāpur was a seat of Government. One of our former Honorary Secretaries, the late Mr. S. M. Edwardes, who was well known here for

<sup>1</sup> Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XIII, 8. pp. 816-22. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers; Part IV, pp. 199-205.



his literary activity, was the discoverer at Parjāpur of some antiquities which he himself had excavated<sup>1</sup>. I remember with pleasure my meeting him, one morning, at Andheri and then at his suggestion, visiting this place of his excavations.

One of our former members, Mr. Carter, possessing the same literary and antiquarian tastes as Mr. Edwardes, proposed at one time that "a field club" may be founded in Bombay for exploring Salsette from an archæological point of view, and I remember his calling a meeting in one of our rooms for the purpose. The movement bore no fruit but I beg to recommend that some enthusiastic young members of our Society may again move in the matter and found "a Field Club" for amateur explorations in the Salsette. The members may divide themselves into small groups and meeting once a week or fortnight, explore different parts of Salsette from an antiquarian point of view. Salsette is rich in the matter of such antiquities. I take this opportunity to tell you, that recently, an old Hindu temple has been excavated by the Archæological Department about the distance of a mile from the Parjāpur excavations of Mr. Edwardes. It gives me great pleasure to say, that I had the good fortune to discover the plot and draw the attention of Sir John Marshall to it. During my morning walks when I occasionally lived at Andheri for some months now and then, I passed across a certain plot on the banks of a large tank (*talāo*), the surroundings of which made me think that the place must be the site of some old building. Every time I passed by that spot, the same thought occurred to me, but I hesitated to write, taking it that, perhaps, I may be wrong. One morning, perhaps it was the psychological moment, when I made up my mind to write. I wrote and I succeeded. But my suggestion took some time to fructify. Sir John Marshall kindly wrote to the Superintendent of Archæology, Western India at Poona, who referred the matter to the Collector of Thana. I remember going one morning from Bombay to meet Mr. Carter, the then Collector of the district, to point out the spot to him. The Superintendent of Archæology kindly looked into the matter, excavated and dug out the remains of an old Hindu temple of about the 10th or 12th century. When, thereafter, I visited the place about two years ago, I was extremely glad

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide* the East and West of 1905.

to find there the usual board, saying that the plot was under the protection of the Monument Act. As a result of some of my correspondence of archæological interests with the Archæological Department, I had the pleasure of having the honour of being nominated its Corresponding member ; and so, I felt gratified, that by my discovery of the spot, I had, in my own humble way, justified my above nomination<sup>1</sup>.

Prof. Ezekiel's second paper on " the position of women in Rabbinical Literature " is a well-authenticated paper, wherein the author supports his view of the position of women, as learnt from Hebrew books, by the statements of well-known writers. The paper is also interesting from a Parsee point of view.

<sup>1</sup> After writing the above, I received only yesterday a letter, dated 29th March, from Mr. G. B. Chandra, Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, Western Circle, in reply to mine of the 28th instant, wherein he writes :—" To me it appears the temple was erected between the 10th and 12th Century A. D. but the two rock-cut cisterns close by are of much earlier date ". Mr. Chandra kindly sends me also a copy of his report which is in press and which he says, will be published very shortly. Hoping that the Report may interest some of you who may visit the place, I give it here :—

(Extract from the conservation portion of the Annual Progress Report of the Western Circle for the year 1927-28) :—

" At the suggestion of Dr. J. J. Modi of Bombay, a site of an ancient ruined temple in a garden at Mulgaon, situated at a distance of about 3 miles from Andheri Station on the B. B. & C. I. Railway in the Bombay Suburban District, was examined departmentally. The temple was hopelessly damaged probably by the Portuguese as stones belonging to the monument are still to be seen in the masonry of the graves existing in the garden. Nothing more remains of the temple except its wide basement on uneven rock constructed of long and thick slabs of stones, joined together without mortar by clamps and dowels. On this basement clear cut lines can be traced giving an idea of the extent of the masonry of the plinth. Three small relic-caskets of copper were recovered from the three of the four small hollows in the base blocks of the four corner pillars of the main shrine or garbhagriha. These caskets contain nothing but earth. It is just possible that the contents were taken purposely from a *samadhi* of a Hindu religious teacher. Thus, it may be that the monument is a *samadhi*-temple built in memory of one whose dead body was presumably cremated on the eastern bank of a big tank standing close to the west-side of the Hindu temple. Such relic caskets from the garbhagriha of a Hindu temple are unique as no such instances have been hitherto noticed."



As regards marriages with foreigners, Prof. Ezekiel says: "Though intermarriage with the gentiles was forbidden to the Jews, the Hebrew military class were allowed to marry foreign women captured in distant wars." (p. 95.) Many of the customs and manners of the Hebrews were similar to those of the ancient Iranians with whom they had come into close contact. The above is an instance of that kind. The ancient Iranians also as a rule did not like intermarriages with foreigners, but they made exceptions in some cases and permitted Iranians marrying foreign wives. For example Chosroes I embodies a condition in his treaty with the Arabs of Yemen, after his conquest of that part of Arabia, that if Iranians married Arab women that will be permitted but the marriage of Iranian women with Arabs will not be tolerated<sup>1</sup>. Mas'ûdi<sup>2</sup> also refers to a similar custom.

In the matter of the closer contact of the Hebrews with the ancient Iranians, I may draw the attention of members to an interesting paper<sup>3</sup> by Prof. Rehatsek in one of our former Journals, entitled "Contact of the Jews with the Assyrians, Babylonians, and Persians, from the Division of the Hebrew Monarchy into two kingdoms (B.C. 975) till the Entrance of Alexander the Great into Jerusalem (B.C. 333) and a view of Jewish Civilization".<sup>4</sup>

Prof. Ezekiel says of the Kethubeh or Marriage-deeds that they were intended "to safeguard the interests of the bride" and adds that "it was after the return of the Jews from Babylon that the Rabbis considered the necessity of securing the future of the girls". (page 104.) This then seemed to be the result of the close contact of the Hebrews with the Iranians at Babylon during their captivity there. The Iranian customs, as a rule, looked to the

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<sup>1</sup> *Vide* my paper on the "Physical Character of the Arabs". (Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, Vol. XI, No. 7, pp. 724-768. *Vide* my Anthropological Papers, Part III, pp. 8-51.)

<sup>2</sup> Maçoudi, Trad. Barbier de Meynard, Vol. I, p. 221.

<sup>3</sup> Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XII, pp. 219-99. For a brief Summary and Review of that paper, see my "Glimpse into the work of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view" in my separate publication pp. 73-79.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* my Paper "Glimpse into the Work of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of view" *op. cit.* (pp. 76-77 of the separate print).

interests of the bride. These marriage deeds were something like our modern marriage-trusts. This part of the paper will, I think, be found interesting for our modern lawyers in their study of the present marriage customs.

Prof. Ezekiel refers to the ancient Assyrians as having some marriage customs similar to those of the Hebrews. I think some parallels may be found with those of the ancient Iranians. The Parsees have an old Pahlavi book named "*Madigān-i-Hazār Dādistān*". I had the pleasure of publishing it in facsimile with an Introduction in 1901, under the auspices of the Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Translation Fund in the hands of the Trustees of the Punchayet. The Trustees are now publishing a translation of this treatise by Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara. This translation will be of use to Prof. Ezekiel for some parallels and I think that Mr. Bulsara will also be benefited by closely studying Prof. Ezekiel's paper and the original texts referred to.

What Prof. Ezekiel says about a minimum sum of 200 *denarii* having been fixed for a virgin reminds one of the modern *Āshirwād* or Blessing ceremony of marriage among the Parsees, the senior officiating priest makes a mention of 2000 dinars of pure white silver and two in dirams of red gold of Nishapore (coinage) (*dō hazār dinār sīm o safid āvīzak va dō deherum-i zar-i-sōrkh i Shehr-i Nishāpuri*). I think this mention is a relic of an old Iranian custom, whereby the bride-groom fixed for the bride a certain payment—call it a dowry or marriage settlement—and the above sum was either the minimum or the maximum, more likely the latter.

Prof. Ezekiel says that "Polygamy was looked upon with disfavour by the prophets and the scribes". But, in spite of that, it prevailed to some extent, and he, with the authority of Whewell says that "polygamy among the Jews, ceased after the return from the Babylonian exile" (p. 108). This may be pointed as an instance of the influence of Iranians at Babylon. The Iranians of the Avesta times though there may, here and there, be cases of more than one wife under exceptional cases, were, as a rule, monogamous. Again, in disapproving celibacy and in believing sterility as a curse, the Hebrews held the same view as the Iranians.

Prof. Utgikar, whose deep interest in the study of the Mahabharata, we know well, in his article, entitled "Some points of contact between the Mahābhārata and the Jātakas" says that "some of the stories contained in the Mahābhārata have been found to occur in some other works". (p. 116.) He then instances the Jātakas as one of such works. I may say that the Shāhnāmeḥ of Firdausi is another of such works. I remember the late Prof. Darmesteter, reading, in this very room in 1887, paper entitled "The striking similarity between the episode in the Mahābhārata known as the renunciation of Yudhisthira, king of Delhi and the renunciation of Kaikhosro in the Shah-nameh,"<sup>1</sup> and I also remember the late lamented Mr. Kashinath Trimbak Telang, entering, at the end of the paper, "a mild caveat" against the conclusion come to by the Professor, that the Indian story "was borrowed from Persian, either through literary connection or from old tradition". Prof. Darmesteter also attempted to show that the Persian legend was also borrowed to the last detail by the Hebrew writer of the Sepher Hayashar, a legendary history of the Jewish people, written in the Middle Ages, and applied to Patriarch Enoch." The mild caveat of Mr. Telang drew from the pen of Prof. Darmesteter, on his return to Paris, a paper named "Points de Contact entre le Mahābhārata et le Shāh-nāmāh".<sup>2</sup>

Papers by Mahomedan scholars are very rare in our Journal. They are very few and far between on our side. So, we are glad to find Prof. Surfraz contributing a paper in our Journal on "Persian Mss. belonging to the Government Collection, now deposited in the library of the University of Bombay". The Mss. treated in the paper were collected by Prof. Surfraz, who promises us a descriptive catalogue. Some of the Mss. are, he says, very rare. One of such is his Ms. No. 2 *Ashjār wa athmār* (اشجار و اثمار) i.e. "Trees and fruits" which describes a comet that appeared in our country in 1264 A.C. In this connection, I will refer members, interested in the subject, to my paper entitled "An Account of the Comets as given by Mahomedan Historians and as contained in the books of

<sup>1</sup> Jour. B.B.R.A.S. Vol. XVII, Abstract of Proceedings, pp. II-IV. (*Vide* my Glimpse into the Works of the B.B.R.A.S. *op. cit.* pp. 97-98.)

<sup>2</sup> Journal Asiatique 1887. Huitième Serie. Tome X, pp. 33-75.

the Pīshinīgāns or the Ancient Persians referred to by Abu Fazl".<sup>1</sup>

The next two papers "Vedic Studies" by Mr. A. Venkatasubbiah and "Epic Studies" by Dr. V. S. Sukthankar are scholarly papers on strictly philological Sanskrit subjects on which I am not in a position to say much. They do credit to our Journal from a strictly scientific point of view. Dr. Sukthankar's paper is a polite reply to two distinguished scholars who have suggested certain amendments to his readings of certain words in the text of the Mahābhārata which he edits.

While finishing my humble survey of the literary work, done during the past year and as embodied in our Journal, I beg to convey to all the learned writers, the thanks of the Society for kindly enriching the Journal of the Society by the results of their studies. I also thank the scholars who have kindly taken the trouble of reviewing some publications sent to them for the purpose by our Editor. I conclude by wishing all prosperity and useful work to the Society during the next period of 25 years. May God grant that you all live long, healthy and hearty, to hear the words of encouragement and progress from the then President, the President of the year 1954.

Mr. K. H. Vakil, with the permission of the meeting, thanked Dr. Modi for his learned review of the Society's activities, and congratulated him on the healthy precedent he had set.

The meeting thereafter proceeded to elect the Committee of Management for 1930 and the following were duly elected :—

*President :*

Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

*Vice-Presidents :*

Mr. V. P. Vaidya.

Mr. P. V. Kane.

Mr. S. V. Bhandarkar.

Hon. Mr. J. E. B. Hotson, I.C.S.

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<sup>1</sup> Journal of the B. B. Royal Asiatic Society Vol. XXIII pp. 147 *et seq.* Vide my Asiatic Papers, Part III, pp. 247-273.

*Members:*

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|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri. | 8. Prof. A. B. Gajendra-<br>gadkar. |
| 2. Mr. A. A. A. Fyze.           | 9. Mr. M. D. Altekar.               |
| 3. Mr. J. E. Aspinwall.         | 10. Rev. Fr. H. Heras.              |
| 4. Prof. P. A. Wadia.           | 11. Prof. H. D. Velankar.           |
| 5. Mr. G. V. Acharya.           | 12. Prof. E. M. Ezekiel.            |
| 6. Dr. G. S. Ghurye.            | 13. Mr. J. S. Tilley.               |
| 7. Mr. B. K. Wagle.             | 14. Prof. K. T. Shah.               |
|                                 | 15. Mr. R. C. Goffin.               |

Mr. Aspinwall suggested that a provision should be made in the Rules for inviting nominations from members to the Managing Committee and that these nominations should be placed on the board in the library at least a week before the Annual Meeting.

Prof. Gajendragadkar proposed that a hearty vote of thanks be given to the Auditors, Messrs. A. B. Agaskar and W. Battersby Parks, for having assisted the Society by auditing its accounts of 1929, and that they be requested kindly to extend their assistance during the current year.

Mr. V. P. Vaidya seconded the proposition which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Vaidya proposed and Mr. Bhandarkar seconded that the following recommendation of the Managing Committee be accepted:—

“That Mr. J. E. Saklatwala be granted an exemption from payment of the Entrance Fee”.

*Carried.*

The meeting concluded with a cordial vote of thanks to the Chair which was carried with applause.



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BOMBAY BRANCH  
OF THE  
**Royal Asiatic Society.**

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- 1900 ALLUM, E. F., Empire of India Life Assurance Co., Bombay 1.
- 1917 ALTEKAR, MADHAV D., M.A., Lokamanya Nivas, Ville Parle.
- 1926 ALTON, W. J. d., Imperial Bank of Persia, Bombay 1.
- \*1910 AMBALAL SARABHAI, The Retreat, Shahibag, Ahmedabad.
- †1928 AMY B. H. J. RUSTOMJI, Miss, 8, Colaba Road, Bombay 5.
- 1931 ANDREW, L. B., Port Trust, Bombay.



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 1921 ARTE, M. B., M.A., Royal Institute of Science, Bombay 1.  
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 1921 ATA HUSAIN, B.A., Educational Inspector, Bombay.  
 1929 ATKINS, H. B., Wilkinson, Heywood and Clark, Sprott Road, Bombay.  
 1923 BAKER, A. H., W. H. Brady & Co., Churchgate Street, Bombay 1.  
 1927 BAKER, The Hon. Mr. Justice W. T. W., I.C.S., High Court, Bombay.  
 1920 BAKHLE, S. R., LL.B., Godavarinivas, Damar Lane, Bombay 7.  
 \*1927 BAKHLE, V. S., M.A., LL.B., 276, Yadogopal Peth, Satara City.  
 \*1902 BALASAHEB PANT PRATINIDHI, Shrimant, Aundh, Satara District.  
 \*1924 BALKRISHNA, Dr., M.A., Ph.D., Rajaram College, Kolhapur.  
 †1894 BALKRISHNA VINAYAK WASUDEV, B.A., 46F, Warden Road, B'bay 6.  
 1907 BALL, H. P., C/o B. B. & C. I. Ry., Churchgate, Bombay 1.  
 1929 BALLEK, E. C., Czechoslovak Consulate, Rampart Row, Bombay.  
 1929 BALSEKAR, Dr. N. S., M.B.B.S., 44, Gamdevi Road, Bombay 7.  
 1925 BANAJI, SORAB J., Sandhurst Bldg., Mereweather Road, Bombay 1.  
 †1917 BANSUDE, Princess SAVITRIBAI SAHEB, Tukogunj, Indore.  
 1923 BAPASOLA, R. N., Mubarakh Manzil, Apollo Street, Bombay 1.  
 \*1929 BARFIWALA, C. D., Juhu Lane, Andheri.  
 1924 BARKER, A. W., Longmans Green & Co., 53, Nicol Rd., Bombay 1.  
 \*1919 BARRON, W. G., Excise Department, Castle Rock.  
 \*1925 BARVE, Dr. RAGHUNATH A., L.R.C.P. & S., Tarapore, Thana Dist.  
 1929 BATLEY, C., Chartered Bank Building, Bombay 1.  
 1926 BATLIWALA, R. D., C/o The Bank of India, Bombay 1.  
 \*1930 BATLIWALA, SOLI S., Kikabhoy Bungalow, Nasik Road.  
 \*1929 BAVDEKAR, R. S., I.C.S., (Bombay) .  
 1930 BEAUMONT, The Hon. Justice Sir John, Bombay 1.  
 †1916 BEHR, Mrs. N. E., Sohrab Mansion, Marzban Road, Bombay 1.  
 1924 BELGAMVALA, N. H., "Bombay Chronicle," Bombay 1.  
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 1928 BENES, Dr. O., Czechoslovak Consulate, 28, Rampart Row, B'bay 1.  
 1930 BERNARD, A. H., Greaves Cotton & Co., Forbes Street, Bombay 1.  
 1921 BEVIS, Miss K., Queen Mary High School, Bombay 4.  
 1915 BHABHA, H. J., M.A., Mount Pleasant Road, Bombay 6.  
 1930 BHAGAT, J. G., Advocate, High Court, Bombay.  
 1922 BHAGWAT, Prof. N. K., M.A., St. Xavier's College, Bombay 1.

- 1930 BHAGWAT, P. M., B.A., LL.B., Mauj Printing Press, Khatao Wadi, Bombay 4.
- 1930 BHANDARKAR, Prof. S. S., B.A., Elphinstone College, Bombay 1.
- 1918 BHANDARKAR, SHIVRAM V., B.A., LL.B., Tata Blocks, Bandra.
- \*1910 BHANDARKAR, V. G., LL.B., Bhamburda, Poona.
- †1912 BHARUCHA, F. E., M.A., LL.B., Canada Bldg., Fort, Bombay 1.
- †1931 BHARUCHA, M. R., Empire of India Life Office, Fort, Bombay.
- 1929 BHAT, A. R., M. Com., Sardar Griha, Carnac Road, Bombay.
- \*1928 BHATE, Principal G. C., M.A., Mahad, Colaba Dist.
- 1928 BHATIA, Major SOHAN LAL, I.M.S., Mt. Pleasant Road, Bombay 6.
- \*1920 BHAVE, SHIVRAM G., LL.B., Wai, Satara District.
- 1926 BILIMORIA, B. A., Batlivala and Karani, Dalal Street, Bombay 1.
- \*1923 BILIMORIA, M. D., P. O. Box 167, Rangoon.
- 1922 BODAS, MAHADEO R., M.A., LL.B., 46, Khotachi Wadi, Bombay 4.
- \*1929 BOGA, Miss MARY, A. E., Ice Factory, Amritsar (Punjab).
- \*1921 BOGGS, The Rev. A. M., Narasaravupeta, Guntur District, S. I.
- 1928 BOLTON, J. R. G., Times of India, Bombay 1.
- 1911 BOMANJI, K. R., C.S., Meher Building, Chawpaty, Bombay 7.
- 1919 BRANDER, J. P., I.C.S. (Bombay).
- 1931 BRIGGS, A. E., Telegraph Office, Bombay 1.
- 1921 BROOMFIELD, The Hon. Mr. Justice R. S., I.C.S., Bombay.
- 1928 BROWN, A. W. C., 16, Bank Street, Bombay 1.
- 1912 BROWN, B., James Finlay & Co., Esplanade Road, Bombay.
- \*1927 BROWN, L. N., I.C.S. (Bombay).
- \*1928 BURWAY, M. W., B.A., 12, Imli Bazar, Indore City.
- 1930 BUTCHER, B., Oxford University Press, Bombay 1.
- 1915 BUTLER, H. E., D.S.P. (Bombay).
- †1919 CAMA, DADABHAI F., 4, Pedder Road, Bombay 6.
- †1883 CAMA, Khan Bahadur JEhangir K. R., Temple Road, Nagpur.
- †1880 CAMA, RUSTAM K. R., Yusuf Building, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
- †1909 CAMA, T. R. N., 23, Meadows Street, Bombay 1.
- 1930 CAMPBELL, Lt.-Comdr. P. S., I. T. S. Dufferin, Bombay 10.
- 1911 CAPTAIN, Mrs. G. M. S., 96, Murzabanabad, Andheri.
- 1906 CAPTAIN, M. S., Solicitor, 121, Esplanade Rd., Bombay 1.
- 1923 CHAGLA, MUHAMMAD ALI CARIM, Bar-at-Law, High Court, Bombay 1.
- 1928 CHAMBERS, E. M., Crawford Bayley & Co., Ewart House, Bombay 1.
- 1924 CHANDA AMIRUDDIN MUCHHALA, 103, Mody Street, Bombay 1.
- 1927 CHANDAVARKAR, V. N., Bar-at-Law, Pedder Road, Bombay 6.
- 1923 CHOKSEY, Prof. R. D., M.A., Wilson College, Bombay 7.
- 1930 CHRISTIE, The Rev. G. N., M.A., 2, Sassoon Dock Road, Bombay.

- 1922 CHUNILAL GIRDHARLAL, 24, Churchgate Street, Bombay 1.  
 1920 CLARKE, A. D. M., P. Chrystal & Co., Fort, Bombay.  
 \*†1892 COELHO, S., M.A.  
 1925 COGHLAN, J. A., D.S.P. (Bombay).  
 1923 COLLINS, G. F. S., I.C.S. (Bombay).  
 \*1905 COMMISSARIAT, Prof. M. S., M.A., Gujarat College, Ahmedabad.  
 1922 COOPER, A. L., J. Duxbury & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay 1.  
 \*1922 COVERNTON, S. H., I.C.S. (Bombay).  
 1925 COX, F. S., Millar's Timber and Trading Co., Bombay 8.  
 1909 COYAJI, H. C., High Court, Bombay 1.  
 1931 CRUICKSHANK, Mrs. N. B., 3, Knight House, Colaba, Bombay.  
 1921 CURRY, J. E. PRINGLE, Government Shipping Office, Bombay 10.  
 †1921 DABHOLKAR, LAXMIKANT S., Anandakanan, Chowpaty, Bombay 7.  
 †1924 DABHOLKAR, MANGESH A., Chowpaty, Bombay 7.  
 1914 DABHOLKAR, Sir VASANTRAO A., Kt., C.B.E., Chowpaty, Bombay 7.  
 1921 DADACHANJI, Dr. K. K., Fateh Manzil, New Queen's Road, B'bay 4.  
 1914 DALAL, A. R., I.C.S. (Bombay).  
 1924 DALAL, M. B., Marine Villa, Colaba, Bombay 5.  
 †1913 DALAL, RUSTOMJI D., Sardar's Palace, Apollo Street, Bombay 1.  
 1921 DALVI, D. G., M.A., LL.B., 217, Charni Road, Bombay 4.  
 1921 DAMANIA, MANEKLAL G., Chowpaty, Bombay 7.  
 \*1928 DAMLE, B. R., B.A., LL.B., Acharya's Wada, Thana.  
 1924 DAPHTARY, BALKISAN, 13-19, Meadows Street, Bombay 1.  
 1923 DAPHTARY, CHANDRAKISAN, M.A., Bar-at-Law, 109, Meadows Street  
 Bombay 1.  
 1924 DARUVALA, J. C., 74, Walkeshwar Road, Bombay 6.  
 1926 DASTUR, H. P., Bar-at-Law, Presidency Magistrate, Bombay 1.  
 \*†1920 DASTUR, Dr. N. H., Udwada, Surat District.  
 1930 DAVAR, J. S., Bar-at-Law, 123, Esplanade Road, Bombay.  
 1904 DAVAR, Dr. M. B., M.A., Ph.D., 165, Lamington Road, Bombay 7.  
 1926 DAVAR, Mrs. V. J. D., Nepean Sea Road, Bombay 6.  
 1926 DAVID, DAVID VICTOR, 4, Queen's Road, Bombay.  
 1931 DAVIES, Mrs. SYBIL B., Miramar, Colaba, Bombay 5.  
 \*1919 DAVIS, G., I.C.S. (Bombay).  
 1929 DAVIS, Commander H. L., R. I. M. Dockyard, Bombay 1.  
 \*1930 DAVY, Mrs. H. M., (Queen's Mansion Hotel, Bombay).  
 1927 DELAFONTAINE, A., West End Watch Co., Esplanade Rd., Bombay.  
 1891 DEMONTE, Mgr. Dr. B., D.D., J.P., Cathedral Street, Bombay 2.  
 1887 DEMONTE, Dr. A., M.D., Summit View, Bandra.  
 1929 DENSO, W., Lloyd Triestino S. N. Co., Nicol Road, Bombay.

- 1922 DESAI, BHULABHAI J., Advocate, Warden Road, Bombay 6.
- 1925 DESAI, Dr. K. J., B.A., L.M. & S., 56, Ridge Road, Bombay 6.
- 1928 DESAI, MRS. LILAVATI MANGALDAS, C/o Rustomji Jinwala, Solicitors,  
Esplanade Road, Bombay.
- \*1928 DESAI, Prof. M. B., Karnatak College, Dharwar.
- 1926 DESAI, R. K., B.A., B.Sc. (Lond.), Bar-at-Law, Vile Parle.
- 1929 DESAI, T. D., 31, Nanabhai Lane, Fort, Bombay.
- 1930 DESHMUKH, Dr. G. V., M.D., F.R.C.S., 39, Pedder Road, Bombay 6.
- 1928 DESHPANDE, S. R., Labour Office, Secretariat, Bombay 1.
- \*1930 DEVLALKAR, Prof. T. K., M.A., B.Sc., Karnatak College, Dharwar.
- 1924 DHURANDHAR, J. R., B.A., LL.B., Shanti Kunj, Khar.
- 1927 DICKINSON, F., Duncan Stratton & Co., Fort, Bombay 1.
- \*1925 DIKSHIT, K. N., M.A., Archaeological Survey, E. C., Calcutta.
- 1921 DIVATIA, H. V., Maharaja Mansion, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.
- 1922 DIVATIA, Prof. N. B., B.A., Elphinstone College, Bombay 1.
- \*1925 DORAN, H. F., B. B. & C. I. Ry., Fatehgarh, U. P.
- \*†1919 DORDI, Dr. J. B., Navsari.
- 1927 DOSTMUHAMMAD MUNJEE, 12-13, Dougall Road, Bombay 1.
- 1930 DOUGLAS, J. D., Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co., Bombay 1.
- 1921 DOW, H., I.C.S. (Bombay).
- 1924 DUNLOP, J., Imperial Bank of India, Nagpur.
- 1930 EASTERBROOK, N., Heatley and Gresham, Hornby Rd., Bombay.
- 1924 EDWARDS, H. B., Reuters Ltd., Hornby Rd., Bombay 1.
- 1924 EVERATT, E. L., Port Trust, Bombay 1.
- \*1920 EVES, GRAVES, Barsi Light Railway, Kurduwadi, S. M. C.
- 1917 EZEKIEL, Prof. E. M., B.A., LL.B., 14, Don Tad Cross Lane,  
Khadak, Bombay 3.
- \*1929 FARRAN, Prof. A. C., I.E.S., Deccan College, Poona.
- 1924 FERARD, R. L., David Sassoon & Co., Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
- 1930 FERGUSON, J., Greaves Cotton and Co., Forbes Street, Bombay 1.
- 1924 FERNANDES, B. A., 66, Carter Road, Bandra, Thana District.
- 1928 FINAN, A., Radio Club, 5, Queen's Road, Bombay.
- 1914 FLEMING, R., Prier de Saone & Co., Bombay 1.
- 1930 FLETCHER, T., Imperial Chemical Industries, Hornby Road, Bombay.
- 1925 FORBES, D. N., M.A., LL.B., Motilal Mansion, Hammum Street,  
Bombay 1.
- 1925 FORRINGTON, A., Greaves Cotton & Co., Forbes Street, Bombay 1.
- 1931 FOUNTAIN, C. O., Turner Morrison & Co., Bank Street, Bombay.
- 1928 FRASER, R. D., Indo-Burma Petroleum Co., Allahabad Bank Bldg.,  
Apollo St., Bombay 1.
- 1926 FREKE, C. G., I.C.S. (Bombay).

- \*1922 FRENCHMAN, D. P., Gandamanayakanur, Madura District, S. I.
- \*1913 FURDOONJI DORABJI PADAMJI, Reay Paper Mills, Madhuva, Poona.
- †1919 FYZEE, A. A. A., M.A. (Cantab.), LL.B., Bar-at-Law, 43 Chaupati Road, Bombay 7.
- \*†1925 GADGIL, D. R., M.A., M.Litt., Gokhale Institute of Economics, Poona.
- 1926 GADGIL, Prof. V. A., Wilson College, Bombay 7.
- †1927 GAJENDRAGADKAR, Prof. A. B., M.A., Elphinstone College, B'bay 1.
- 1918 GANNON, H., Chartered Bank Building, Bombay 1.
- \*1912 GARRETT, J. H., I.C.S. (Bombay).
- 1912 GHARPURE, J. R., B.A., LL.B., Angre's Wadi, Bombay 4.
- \*1928 GHARPUREY, Lt.-Col. K. G., I.M.S., (Bombay).
- \*1930 GHOLAP, L. T., I.C.S., (Bombay).
- \*1922 GHORPADE, M. H., 273, Somwar Peth, Poona City.
- †1910 GHORPADE, Shrimant MALOJIRAO NANASAHEB, Chief of Mudhol.
- †1891 GHORPADE, Shrimant NARAYANRAO GOVINDRAO, Ichalkaranji.
- \*1925 GHOSAL, J., C.S.I., I.C.S., (Bombay).
- 1924 GHURYE, G. S., M.A., Ph.D., University, Bombay 1.
- 1919 GILDER, Dr. M. D. D., Taj Building, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
- \*1921 GILLIGAN, W. B., I.C.S., (Bombay).
- 1922 GILROY, Major P. K., I.M.S., Sir J. J. Hospital, Bombay.
- 1926 GLEESON, H. J., Kopri, Thana District.
- \*1918 GODEBOLE, Prof. V. N., 900, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City.
- 1929 GODDARD, J., General Motors (India) Ltd., P. O. Box, 39, Bombay.
- \*1925 GODE, P. K., M.A., Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, Poona.
- 1927 GOFFIN, R. C., M.A., Oxford University Press, Ballard Estate, Bombay.
- \*1923 GOKHALE, Rao Saheb A. G., M.A., B.Sc., Nasik Road.
- 1921 GOODALL, C. H., Bombay Co., Fort, Bombay 1.
- \*1926 GORWALA, A. D., I.C.S., (Bombay).
- 1923 GRAHAM, H. J., C/o G. I. P. Ry., Jubbulpore, C. P.
- 1926 GREAVES, J. B., Greaves Cotton Co., Forbes Street, Bombay 1.
- 1913 GREEN, A. M., I.C.S., Customs Department, Bombay 1.
- 1929 GREER, B. R. T., Turner Morrison & Co., Bank Street, Bombay.
- 1923 GREGGSON, THOMAS, 11, Khatav Mansion, Bombay 1.
- \*1924 GUNE, J. G., Kunjavana, Lonavla.
- 1925 GUNJIKAR, K. R., M.A., B.Sc., Elphinstone College, Bombay 1.
- 1922 GUPTA, G. M., B.A., LL.B., 56, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
- 1925 GUPTA, G. S., B.A., L.C.E., City Survey and Land Records, Bombay 1.
- 1923 GUT, GEORGE, Volkart Bros., Bombay.



- 1929 GYANI, R. G., M.A., Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay 1.  
1918 HAJI, S. N., Bar-at-Law, Scindia Steam Nav. Co., Sudama House,  
Ballard Estate, Bombay 1.  
†1910 HAMID A. ALI, I.C.S., (Bombay).  
1927 HAMLEY, H. R., Secondary Training College, Bombay.  
1925 HAMMOND, W. H., John Connon School, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.  
\*1916 HAMPTON, Prof. H. V., Karnatak College, Dharwar.  
1917 HANHART, S., E. Spinner & Co., Tamarind Lane, Bombay 1.  
\*1929 HARDMAN, R. G., White Villa, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad.  
1918 HARGREAVES, E., Wilson Latham & Co., Central Bank Building,  
Bombay 1.  
\*†1931 HARISHANKAR ONKARJI, Pandit, Mota Mandir, Nadiad.  
\*1924 HARNHALLI, A. S., B.A., High School, Bijapur.  
1925 HARPER, W., National Bank of India, Bombay 1.  
1928 HARRINGTON, D., Graham's Trading Co., Bombay 1.  
1919 HARVEY, G. E., National Bank of India, Bombay 1.  
1926 HASKELL, I. F., B.A., 56, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.  
1930 HAWKINS, R. E., Oxford University Press, Nicol Road, Bombay 1.  
1921 HAYWARD, G. A., Geo. Service & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay 1.  
\*1924 HAZEN, The Rev. W., Sholapur.  
1929 HENDERSON, A., Gannon Dunkerley & Co., Chartered Bank Building, Bombay.  
\*1925 HENDERSON, L. B., Oxford University Press, Bombay.  
1926 HENNESSEY, J. G., C/o Thomas Cook & Son, Bombay 1.  
1925 HERAS, The Rev. Fr. H., St. Xavier's College, Bombay.  
1917 HERBERTSON, J., James Finlay & Co., Bombay 1.  
1929 HERRING, E. J. C., Jost Engineering Co., Wittett Road, Bombay.  
\*1918 HODIVALA, Prof. S. H., Murzban Road, Andheri.  
\*1924 HOOPER, C. T., Carrier Engineering Co., F2, Clive Bldg., Calcutta.  
1929 HOOSEINALLY M. VISHRAM, B.A., LL.B., Goolshan, Pedder Road,  
Bombay.  
1927 HORLEY, W. G., Mercantile Marine Office, Bombay 1.  
1913 HORMASJI ARDESHIR, L.C.E., 321, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.  
1907 HOTSON, The Hon'ble Sir ERNEST, K.C.S.I., O.B.E., I.C.S., (Bom).  
1928 HOVELL, T. R., Scottish Union & National Insurance Co., 16, Bank  
Street, Bombay 1.  
\*†1908 HUME, The Rev. Dr. R. E., M.A., Union Theological Seminary,  
New York, U.S.A.  
1916 HUMPHERYS, S. E., Thomas Cook & Son, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.  
1927 HUNTER, M., Eastern Telegraph Co., Bombay 1.  
\*1926 IDGUNJI, D. D., Dharwar.

- \*1929 INDULKAR, S. A., Kolhapur.
- 1931 INGRAM, A. R., Chartered Bank, Fort, Bombay.
- 1926 IRANI, A. M., Imperial Film Co., Kennedy Bridge, Bombay.
- 1919 IRANI, D. J., Mulla & Mulla, Gresham Building, Bombay I.
- 1925 IYER, S. R., Imperial Bank of India, Bombay.
- 1929 IZARD, A. D., Eastern Telegraph Co., Bombay I.
- 1931 JACOB, K. G., M.A., New Customs, Bombay I.
- \*1928 JAIN, MADANLAL, Kucha Luttu Shah, Dariha Kala, Delhi.
- 1927 JAL A. D. NAOROJI, Tata Sons & Co., Bruce Street, Bombay I.
- 1928 JAMSETJEE, P. M. JEEJEEBHOY, Yorkshire Insurance Co., Fort, Bombay I.
- \*1917 JATHAR, Prof. G. B., M.A., Deccan College, Poona.
- †1916 JAYAKAR, M. R., Bar-at-Law, 391, Girgaum Road, Bombay 2.
- 1929 JEHANGIR R. DADABHOY, Ratanshaw Lodge, Altamont Rd., Bombay.
- 1927 JERAJANI, NANAL C., Borivli, Thana District.
- 1931 JETHMAL NARANDAS, Laxmi Nivas, Laburnum Road, Bombay 7.
- \*1926 JEWELL, E. DE B., Surat.
- 1911 JHAVERI, Dewan Bahadur K. M., M.A., LL.B., Bombay 4.
- \*1924 JHOTE, R. B., B.A., Paradise, Shahibag, Ahmedabad.
- \*1928 JOHNSTON, E. A. F., B. B. & C. I. Ry., Rutlam.
- 1931 JONES, A. R., Imperial Chambers, Wilson Road, Bombay I.
- 1916 JONES, H. E., Oriental Insurance Co., Esplanade Road, Bombay I.
- 1922 JONES, H. P., B. B. & C. I. Railway, Bombay I.
- 1924 JONES, W. T., Lewis & Jones, Bank of Baroda Bldg. Bombay I.
- 1928 JOSHI, Miss CHATURLAXMI B., B.A., Matunga, Bombay.
- \*1926 JOSHI, NARAYAN BALWANT, Bijapur.
- \*1929 JOSHI, V. G., Chitrashala Press, 1026, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City.
- 1926 JUDAH, Dr. D., Kodak House, Hornby Road, Bombay I.
- 1902 JUDAH, S., B.A., LL.B., Examiner Press Building, Fort, Bombay I.
- 1931 JUNGALWALA, N. T., B.A., LL.B., Gazdar Mansion, Princess Street, Bombay 2.
- 1922 KABAD, M. S., B.A., Secretariat, Bombay I.
- 1925 KALIANJI C. DAMJI, Curamsy Damji & Co., Sohrab House, Hornby Road, Bombay I.
- \*1915 KAMAT, B. S., B.A., Ganeshkhind Road, Poona.
- †1915 KANE, P. V., M.A., LL.M., Angre's Wadi, Bombay 4.
- 1919 KANGA, Miss JERBAI D. B., Rebsch Street, Jacob Circle, Bombay II.
- 1922 KANGA, P. J., M.A., Bombay House, Bombay I.
- 1919 KANJI DWARKADAS, M.A., Yusuf Bldg., Esplanade Rd., Bombay I.
- 1928 KAPADIA, CHUNILAL A., 165, Gulalwadi, Bombay 4.

- 1929 KAPADIA, H. M., 31, Nanabhai Lane, Fort, Bombay.
- \*1927 KARANDIKAR, R. P., Satara.
- 1926 KARANDIKAR, S. V., M.A., Nene Building, Charni Road, Bombay.
- 1927 KARANDIKAR, V. R., Bar-at-Law, Topiwala Wadi, Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.
- 1929 KASAMALLY A. SOMJEE, M.A., LL.B., Bar-at-Law, Bomanji Dhanji-bhoy Building, Esplanade Road, Bombay.
- 1924 KATRAK, M. N., 37, Ghadiali Mansion, Alexandra Road, Bombay 7.
- 1928 KEIP, O., Haverro Trading Co., Ballard Estate, Bombay 1.
- \*1930 KEKI ARDESHIR, Capt., M.R.C.S., Bungalow No. 129, Mhow, C.I.
- 1927 KELKAR, K. H., B.A., LL.B., Angre's Wadi, Bombay 4.
- \*1927 KELKAR, N. C., B.A., LL.B., Poona.
- 1921 KERKAR, W. R., B.A., LL.B., Benham Hall Lane, Bombay 4.
- \*1927 KERR, W., National Bank of India, Colombo, Ceylon.
- †1916 KESHAVRAO B. WASUDEV, B.A., LL.B., Nasik.
- \*1918 KETKAR, Dr. S. V., M.A., Ph.D., 21, Kahn Road, Poona.
- 1930 KHAKHAR, HARILAL MAYARAM, 25, Dr. Wilson Street, Bombay 4.
- \*1929 KHAN, Prof. A. K., Deccan College, Poona.
- \*1930 KHANDKE, D. N., Station Road, Gwalior.
- \*1926 KHANNA, VINAYAKLAL, Nandalal Mullick 2nd Lane, Beadon Street, Calcutta.
- 1929 KHARAS, J. D., M.A., Proprietary & Fort High School, Gowalia Tank Road, Bombay.
- 1922 KHARE, L. G., B.A. (Oxon.), Chronicle Office, Bombay 1.
- 1889 KHAREGHAT, M. P., I.C.S. (*Rtd.*), Mt. Pleasant Road, Bombay 6.
- 1927 KHATAO, LAXMIDAS M., Laxmi Bldg., Ballard Rd., Bombay 1.
- †1923 KHER, B. G., B.A., LL.B., 53, Meadows Street, Bombay 1.
- †1904 KIKABHAI PREMCHAND, Share Bazar, Bombay 1.
- 1928 KIPPEN, Capt. R. R., Killick Nixon & Co., Home St., Bombay 1.
- †1924 KISHORDAS P. MANGALDAS, Malabar Point, Bombay 6.
- \*1930 KISHORE SINGH BARHUT, Sardar Thakur, Patiala.
- \*1912 KNIGHT, H. F., I.C.S. (Bombay).
- \*1923 KOLHATKAR, Prof. G. B., Fergusson College, Poona.
- 1906 KOYAJI, K. N., High Court, Bombay.
- †1925 KRISHNA JIVANJI, GOSWAMI, Bada Mandir, Bhuleshwar, Bombay 2.
- \*1916 KRISHNAMACHARIAR, Raja Bahadur G., Srirangam, S.I.
- 1915 KUBALAYA RAJ, 30, Walkeshwar Road, Bombay 6.
- 1925 KURULKAR, Dr. G. M., G. S. Medical College, Parel, Bombay 12.
- 1922 KURWA, S. E., Bar-at-Law, Walkeshwar Road, Bombay 6.
- \*1929 LAD, P. M., I.C.S. (Bombay).
- \*1915 LAGU, Prof. R. K., 1028, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City.

- 1929 LALJI GOCULDAS, Bar-at-Law, 15, Kolbhat Lane, Bombay 2.  
 1923 LALJI NARANJI, Ewart House, Tamarind Lane, Bombay 1.  
 1918 LALKAKA, B. S., Land's End, Bandra.  
 1928 LONDON, C., Indian Telegraph Dept., Bombay 1.  
 \*1909 LATIF, HASSAN, M.I.E., A.M.I.E., Hanamkonda, Nizam's State.  
 1921 LAXMIDAS M. SHRIKANT, Kanji Bhavan, Sandhurst Rd., Bombay 4.  
 1917 LENGACHER, W., Bombay Co., Wallace Street, Bombay 1.  
 1927 LESLIE, G., National Bank of India, Bombay 1.  
 1930 LEUBA, L., Favre Leuba & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay.  
 1928 LEWIS, R. E., Bank of Baroda Bldg., Apollo St., Bombay 1.  
 1924 LINN, D. C., Alcock Ashdown & Co., Frere Road, Bombay.  
 1930 LOW, F., Times of India, Bombay.  
 1928 LOWJI, T. M., 177, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.  
 \*1917 LOYD, The Rt. Rev. P., Bishop of Nasik, Nasik.  
 1929 LUCAS, W. E., B. B. & C. I. Railway, Bombay.  
 1923 LUPTON, F. E., Greaves Cotton & Co., Bombay 1.  
 \*1924 LVOVSKY, Z., Czechoslovak Consulate, P. O. Box 232, Calcutta.  
 1930 McCASKIE, C. S., Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co., Bombay 1.  
 1914 McKENZIE, The Rev. J., M.A., Wilson College, Bombay 7.  
 \*1930 McKERRELL, J., Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co., Calcutta.  
 1927 McKIE, P. W., Central Telegraph Office, Bombay 1.  
 \*1907 MACKIE, A. W. W., I.C.S. (Bombay).  
 \*1908 MACMILLAN, A. M., I.C.S. (Bombay).  
 \*1919 MADAN, J. A., I.C.S. (Bombay).  
 1927 MADGAVKAR, B. R., New Queen's Road, Bombay.  
 †1906 MADGAVKAR, The Hon'ble Justice Sir G. D., I.C.S., Bombay.  
 1924 MADGAVKAR, Capt. V. D., I.M.S., Sandhurst Road, Bombay 4.  
 1901 MADHAVJI DAMODAR THACKERSEY, 16, Apollo Street, Bombay 1.  
 1927 MADON, A. M., 4, Walton Road, Apollo Reclamation, Bombay 1.  
 1930 MADON, D. M., M.A., LL.B., Tata Iron and Steel Co., Bombay House, Bruce Road, Bombay.  
 1921 MADON, K. J. B., Pereira Hill Road, Andheri.  
 1918 MADON, M. P., Serene Villa, Alexandra Road, Gamdevi, Bombay 7.  
 †1923 MADON, P. M., 19, Hammum Street, Bombay 1.  
 \*1930 MAHAJANI, Principal G. S., Fergusson College, Poona.  
 1926 MOHAMMAD ALI, MOULVI, M.A. (Oxon.), Dharavi, Bombay.  
 1930 MOHAMMAD BAZLUR REHMAN, Ph.D. (Cantab.), Ismail College, Andheri, Thana Dist.  
 1924 MALONEY, T., Mill-Owners' Association, Esplanade Rd., Bombay 1.  
 1929 MANEKLAL P. ROYCHAND, 63, Apollo Street, Bombay 1.

- \*1929 MANYLESS, Capt. K. W., R.E., Power House, Kalyan.
- \*†1902 MARJORIBANKS, Lt.-Col. J. L., I.M.S., England.
- \*1928 MASANI, R. P., Versova, Andheri.
- \*1906 MASTER, A., I.C.S., (Bombay).
- 1924 MATANI, G. M., 53, Mint Road, Bombay 1.
- 1921 MATHEW, Mrs. A. E., Cama Hospital, Bombay 1.
- 1925 MAYENKAR, V. P., B.A., S.T.C., Wilson High School, Bombay 4.
- 1923 MEARS, R. P., J. C. Gammon, Ltd., Goa Street, Bombay 1.
- 1922 MEHENDALE, B. K., Bar-at-Law, French Bridge, Bombay 7.
- \*1931 MEHENDALE, V. K., M.B.B.S., D.T.M., 368 South Kasba, Sholapur.
- \*1927 MEHKRI, MD. ASADULLAH, Asstt. Controller of Stores, Jhansi, C. I.
- 1927 MEHTA, BHASKAR B., Ramdas Khimji Trading Co., Albert Bldg., Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
- 1930 MEHTA, C. A., M.A., LL.B., V. M. Kapol Boarding, Madhav Bag, Bombay 4.
- 1908 MEHTA, Sir CHUNILAL V., K.C.S.I., M.A., LL.B., Bombay 6.
- 1926 MEHTA, Mrs. HANSA, 23, Nepean Sea Road, Bombay 6.
- 1921 MEHTA, INDRAVADAN N., Bar-at-Law, Purshotam Building, New Queen's Road, Bombay.
- 1918 MEHTA, J. K., M.A., Indian Merchants' Chamber, 31, Murzban Road, Bombay 1.
- 1900 MEHTA, Sir LALLUBHAI SAMALDAS, K.C.I.E., 49-55, Apollo Street, Bombay 1.
- 1920 MEHTA, R. A., Kalyan Moti Building, Kandevasi, Bombay 4.
- \*1927 MEHTA, RANCHHODLAL L., Karbhari, Vala State.
- \*1927 MEHTA, Dewan Bahadur THAKORRAM KAPILRAM, B.A., LL.B., C.I.E., Athwa Lines, Surat.
- 1929 MEHTA, V. H., S.T.C., B. J. Parsee Charitable Institute, Charni Road, Bombay.
- 1927 MENON, K. K., M.A., Mulji Haridas Bungalow, Dongarsi Rd., Bombay 6.
- 1929 MINNITT, J. A., British Industrial Cable Co., Nicol Road, Bombay.
- 1928 MINOCHERHOMJI, Prof. N. D., Elphinstone College, Bombay 1.
- \*1930 MIRCHANDANI, B. D., I.C.S., (Bombay).
- 1927 MODI, J. H., Solicitor, Daphtary and Ferreira, 13-19, Meadows Street, Bombay 1.
- 1920 MODI, Dr. JAMSHED JIVANJI, L.M.&S., L.D.S., Navsari Chambers, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
- 1888 MODI, SHAMS-UL-ULAMA Sir JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI, Kt., Ph.D., C.I.E., 211, Pilot Bunder Road, Bombay 5.
- 1917 MODY, H. P., M.A., LL.B., Cumballa Hill, Bombay 6.



- 1926 MOGHE, Dr. H. G., L.M.&S., L.D.S., Girgaum Back Road, Bombay 4.
- 1928 MORF, J., Volkart Bros., 19, Graham Road, Bombay 1.
- 1914 MORRIS, C. F., James Finlay & Co., Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
- †1911 MUHAMMAD YUSUF, Sir, Kt., Amir of Navha, Daryanagar, N. Konkan.
- \*1918 MUJUMDAR, Sardar G. N., 187, Kasba Peth, Poona City.
- 1925 MULGAOKER, B. D., Gopal Narayan & Co., Kalbadevi, Bombay 2.
- 1924 MULGAOKAR, K. V., B.A., LL.B., Ridge View, Vachagandhi Road, Bombay 7.
- 1930 MULGAOKAR, S. S., 80, Kurla Road, Andheri.
- 1925 MULLA, Sir DINSHA F., Kt., Bar-at-Law, C.I.E., 21, Marine Lines, Bombay 1.
- 1926 MULLA, Mrs. MANEKBAI S. F., 17, New Marine Lines, Bombay.
- 1921 MUNSHI, K. M., Advocate, High Court, Bombay 1.
- 1923 MUNSHI, R. F., Bar-at-Law, Rafi Manzil, Hormasji St., Bombay 5.
- 1922 MUNSTER, J., Port Office, Bombay 1.
- 1926 MURDESHWAR, G. P., B.A., LL.B., Saraswat Buildings, Bombay 7.
- 1929 MURPHY, The Hon. Mr. Justice S. J., I.C.S., High Court, Bombay.
- \*1918 MUZUMDAR, V. D., M.A., Income Tax Officer, Jalgaon.
- 1930 NADKARNI, M. G., Nadkarni & Co., Jambulwadi, Bombay 2.
- 1910 NADKARNI, V. J., Kennedy Bridge, Bombay 7.
- \*1910 NAGARKATTI, R. S., Dharwar.
- \*1918 NAIK, S. S., B.A., B.Sc., L.C.E., Khar Road, Bandra.
- 1924 NAIK, V. N., M.A., Benham Hall Lane, Bombay 4.
- †1917 NANABHAI TALAKCHAND, Bombay.
- 1924 NANAVATI, The Hon. Mr. Justice D. D., I.C.S. (Bombay).
- 1913 NANAVATI, H. D., B.A., LL.B., 80, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
- \*1931 NANDIMATH, S. C., M.A., Ph.D., Gokak, District Belgaum.
- 1917 NARIMAN, G. K., 3rd Victoria Cross Lane, Mazgaon, Bombay 10.
- 1923 NARIMAN, S. B., 113, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
- 1914 NATARAJAN, K., "Indian Social Reformer," Outram Rd., Bombay 1.
- 1921 NAZAR, O. H., Union Bank Building, Apollo Street, Bombay 1.
- 1930 NAZIR AHMAD, M.Sc., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Technological Laboratory, Matunga, Bombay.
- 1914 NERURKAR, Dr. J. S., L.M.&S., D.P.H., Municipality, Bombay 1.
- 1922 NIEDERER, G., Sulzer Bruderer & Co., Hornby Rd., Bombay 1.
- †1920 NIMBALKAR, SHRIMANT MALOJIRAO MUDHOJIRAO Naik, Phaltan.
- 1902 NORMAND, Dr. A. R., M.A., B.Sc., Ph.D., Wilson College, Bombay 7.
- \*1928 OKA, W. P., M.A., LL.B., Joglekar's Bungalow, Kharkar Ali, Thana.
- 1926 OTTO, P. A., Volkart Bros., Ballard Estate, Bombay 1.

- 1923 PADGAOKAR, G. V., 32 B, Post Office Lane, Bombay 4.
- 1927 PADGETT, W. R., B. Reif, Ltd., Ismail Bldg., Bombay 1.
- 1930 PADHYE, K. A., LL.B., New Bhatwadi, Bombay 4.
- 1915 PAGE, F. J., B. B. & C. I. Railway, Parel, Bombay.
- \*1923 PALEKAR, Rao Bahadur B. A., Dharwar.
- 1929 PALKHIWALA, Mrs. F. M., Boocher's House, Cumbala Hill, Bombay.
- 1924 PALMER, A. J., Union Insurance Society of Canton, Central Bank Building, Bombay 1.
- 1916 PANDIT, A. G., Whiteaway Laidlaw Bldg., Bombay 1.
- 1928 PANDIT, Mrs. SARASWATIBAI P., Meher House, Laburnum Road, Bombay 7.
- 1928 PANDIT, VENUGOPAL RAO, N. Sirur & Co., Bank Street, Bombay 1.
- \*1928 PARADKAR, Prof. N. B., Madhav College, Ujjain.
- \*1926 PAREKH, MOTILAL L., M.A., LL.B., Devgad-Baria.
- \*1923 PARIKH, Dr. M. K., Godhra, Panch Mahals District.
- 1921 PARKS, W. BATTERSBY, Ford, Rhodes & Parks, Bank of Baroda Building, Apollo Street, Bombay 1.
- \*1928 PARMANAND, Mrs. S., B.A., B. Litt., D. Phil. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, Buldana (Berar).
- \*1927 PARPIA, YUSUF R., I.C.S. (Bombay).
- 1912 PARUCK, Miss S. S., M.A., Habib Mansion, New Queen's Road, Bombay 4.
- 1925 PARULEKAR, R. V., M.A., M. Ed., Municipal Offices, Bombay 1.
- 1928 PASTA, M. G. L., Altmont Road, Bombay 6.
- \*1927 PATASKAR, H. V., LL.B., Chalisgaon, E. Khandesh.
- 1912 PATKAR, The Hon. Mr. Justice S. S., LL.B., Hughes Road, Bombay 7.
- 1929 PATRUNI, V. N., Courtaulds (India) Ltd., Haines Road, Bombay 11.
- †1912 PATWARDHAN, SHRIMANT CHINTAMANRAO DHUNDIRAJ *alias* APPASAHEB, Chief of Sangli, Sangli, S. M. C.
- \*1922 PATWARDHAN, N. M., Bar-at-Law, Kaira.
- 1917 PATWARDHAN, Prof. R. P., B.A. (Oxon.), Elphinstone College, Bombay 1.
- 1910 PAVRI, N. P., M.A., LL.B., Silloo Villa, Cirrus Avenue, Bombay 11.
- 1922 PERSHA, SHANKAR S., Examiner Press Building, Medows Street, Bombay 1.
- 1922 PETIGARA, D. K., Bar-at-Law, 7, Bell Lane, Bombay 1.
- 1923 PETIGARA, Khan Bahadur K. J., Dy. Commr. of Police, Bombay.
- †1922 PETIT, DINSHAW J., Mount Petit, Bombay 6.
- †1897 PETIT, JEHangir B., 359, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
- 1928 PETIT, SORABJI C., Framji Hall, Warden Road, Bombay 6.

- \*1930 PETTY, J., I.F.S., Nasik.
- 1920 PHATAK, N. R., B.A., Kandewadi, Bombay 4.
- 1927 PICOT, C., Indian Radio Tel. Co., Bombay 1.
- 1930 PITTIE, MADANLAL G., Madhukunja, Malabar Hill, Bombay 6.
- 1931 PLUMBER, Miss N. D., Pallonji House, New Charni Rd., Bombay.
- \*1928 POLLOCK, R. E., I.C.S. (C.P.)
- 1927 POOLEY, ALEX. St. P., Greaves Cotton & Co., Forbes Street, Bombay 1.
- \*1916 POPE, J. A., I.C.S., Imperial Customs, Indore, C. I.
- 1916 PORTLOCK, F., James Mackintosh & Co., Ajam Bldg., Ballard Estate, Bombay 1.
- \*1923 POTDAR, Prof. D. V., B.A., Sir Parshurambhau College, Poona.
- 1898 POWVALA, R. S., 251, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
- \*1929 POWELL, V. N. folliott, B. B. & C. I. Ry., Sirsa (Punjab.)
- 1929 PRABHAVALKAR, Miss K. S., B.A., Mantri Blocks, Laburnum Road, Bombay 7.
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- 1930 PRADHAN, The Hon. Sir G. B., Bombay 6.
- \*1909 PRADHAN, R. G., LL.B., Nasik.
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- 1931 PRATER, S. H., C.M.Z.S., M.L.C., 6, Apollo Street, Bombay 1.
- 1922 PURSHOTTAM ISHWARDAS, Garden View, Hughes Road, Bombay.
- \*†1925 RABADE, R. V., 131, Shanwar Peth, Poona City.
- 1917 RAFIYUDDIN AHMAD, The Hon. Moulvi, Bombay 6.
- 1930 RAJAGOPALAN, T., Audit Officer, G. I. P. Railway, Bombay.
- \*1930 RAJE, S. V., B.A., LL.B., Kalyan.
- \*1918 RAMASUBBA AIYAR, K. N., B.A., B.L., Municipal Office, Karachi.
- 1922 RANGNEKAR, The Hon'ble Mr. Justice S. S., B.A., LL.B., Bar-at-Law, High Court, Bombay 1.
- 1911 RAO, Dewan Bahadur G. S., LL.B., Bombay 2.
- 1930 RAO, Prof. VIJAYENDRA K. R. V., Wilson College, Bombay 7.
- \*1925 RATANBAI V. T. MULJI, Lady, Kurla Road, Andheri.
- †1921 RATANSI DHARAMSI MORARJI, Mt. Pleasant Road, Bombay 6.
- \*1910 RAWLINSON, Principal H. G., M.A., I.E.S., Deccan College, Poona.
- 1914 REITH, A. M., Geo. Service & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
- 1910 REUBEN, Miss R., 9, Mazgaon Terrace, Bombay 10.
- 1922 RICKWOOD, H. A., Fire Insurance Association, Allahabad Bank Building, Apollo Street, Bombay 1.
- 1921 ROBINSON, A. E., 17, Marine Lines, Bombay.
- 1926 ROPER, The Rev. H., Archbishop's House, Wodehouse Rd. Bombay 1.

- 1930 ROSS, J. P., Anglo-French Drug Co., Yusuf Bldg., Churchgate St., Bombay 1.
- 1907 ROW, DR. RAGHAVENDRA, B.Sc., M.D. (Lond.), 27, New Marine Lines, Bombay.
- 1924 ROWE, G. C., Land Acquisition Officer, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
- 1930 RUTHERFORD, W. S., Lewis and Taylor, 237, Hornby Road, Bombay.
- \*1928 RUTNAM, D. R., I.C.S. (C.P.)
- \*1927 SABNIS, K. G., Kapsi, Dist. Belgaum.
- \*1902 SABNIS, SIR RAGHUNATHRAO V., Kt., Kolhapur.
- 1921 SAKLATWALLA, J. E., Bombay House, Bruce Street, Bombay 1.
- \*1930 SAKRI, S. S., Ilkal, Dist. Bijapur.
- 1920 SALDANHA, F., Marshall & Sons, Ballard Road, Bombay 1.
- 1929 SANZGIRI, DR. V. R., B.S. (Bom.), M.R.C.S. (Eng.), F.C.P.S., 9, Waudby Road, Bombay.
- 1927 SASHITAL, R. V., 43-A, Chaupati Road, Bombay 7.
- 1919 SATHE, VAIDYA APPA SHASTRI, Kankadvadi, Bombay 4.
- \*1927 SAYED MUNIRUDDIN S. MOULVI, Tadywala Street, Poona.
- 1915 SEN, K. C., I.C.S. (Bombay).
- 1917 SETALVAD, MOTILAL C., 64, Nepean Sea Road, Bombay 6.
- 1927 SETHNA, H. D., C/o D. B. Kapadia, Engineer Bldg., Princess Street, Bombay 2.
- †1930 SETHNA, K. B., 25, New Marine Lines, Bombay.
- 1904 SETHNA, N. P., Fergusson Road, Parel, Bombay 12.
- 1926 SETT, ADI K., Pedder Road, Bombay 6.
- 1930 SETT, M. K., B.A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law, 101, Walkeshwar Road, Bombay 6.
- 1921 SHAH, B. C., Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2.
- 1928 SHAH, C. J., Vijaya Mahal, 12, Walkeshwar Rd., Bombay 6.
- 1921 SHAH, C. R., Govardhan Mansion, Bhatwadi, Bombay 4.
- †1917 SHAH, HIRALAL A., B.A., New Ganpalak Lane, Mulji Jetha Market, Bombay 2.
- 1929 SHAH, Prof. K. T., B.A., B.Sc., Bar-at-Law, 45, Chowpaty Road, Bombay 7.
- \*1927 SHAH, DR. T. L., Gayagate Road, Baroda.
- 1930 SHAIRP, J. N., Lloyds Bank, Bombay 1.
- \*1931 SHANBHAG, T. B., LL.B., Sub-Judge, (Bombay).
- \*1928 SHARPE, Miss E., Shrikrishna Nivas, Limbdi.
- \*1915 SHASTRI, Prof. M. G., 811, Ravivar, Poona City.
- 1922 SHEJWALKAR, T. S., Jagannath Chawl, Fanaswadi, Bombay 2.
- 1929 SHINGNE, P. B., B.A., LL.B., Shingne Building, Sandhurst Road, Bombay.

- \*1927 SHIWESHWARKAR, Dr. R. V., B.A., M.B.B.S., D.P.H., Poona.
- 1918 SHOORJI VALLABHDAS, 220-30, Shaik Memon Street, Bombay.
- \*†1917 SHROFF, D. D., Amraoti, C. P.
- 1929 SHROFF, J. R., Ram Manor, Nepean Sea Road, Bombay 6.
- 1922 SHUTTLEWORTH, G. D., Croft and Forbes, Standard Building, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
- 1929 SLADE, Mrs. W., Pali Hill, Bandra.
- 1928 SOBANI, OSMAN, Gresham Bldg., Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
- \*1930 SOHANI, N. V., B.A., S.T.C., Anand High School, Dhar, C. I.
- 1923 SOLOMON, Principal W. E. GLADSTONE, School of Art, Bombay 1.
- 1931 SONPAL, H. P., Bar-at-Law, 14, Khetwadi Main Rd., Bombay 4.
- \*1921 SORLEY, H. T., I.C.S. (Bombay).
- \*1914 SOTHERS, D. B., I.F.S. (Bombay).
- 1928 SOUTHWELL, H. P., Lloyds Register, Exchange Bldg., Sprott Road, Bombay 1.
- 1927 STACE, Lt.-Col. R. E., R.E., Mint, Bombay 1.
- 1924 STELLA, EUGENE, Wallace Street, Bombay 1.
- \*1922 STEWART, P. M., D.S.P. (Bombay).
- 1927 STRONACH, L. A., Graham Road, Bombay.
- †1919 SUKTHANKAR, BHALCHANDRA S., M.A., LL.B., Shantaram House, Walkeshwar Road, Bombay 6.
- \*1915 SUKTHANKAR, VISHNU S., M.A., Ph.D., Bhandarkar Institute, Poona.
- \*1928 SUKTHANKAR, Y. N., I.C.S. (C. P.)
- 1917 SULTANBOY HAJIBHOY, Akbar Bldg., Hornby Rd., Bombay 1.
- \*1929 SUNTHANKAR, G. P., LL.B., 94, Camp, Belgaum.
- \*1906 SURFRAZ, Prof. SHAIKH ABDUL KADIR, M.A., Deccan College, Poona.
- 1922 SYMONDS, S. L., Forbes, Forbes, Campbell & Co., Bombay 1.
- 1919 TAIRSEE, L. R., Borabazar, Holichakla, Bombay 1.
- 1922 TALEYARKHAN, K. M. J., Bar-at-Law, 56, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
- 1922 TARAPOREWALA, V. F., Bar-at-Law, High Court, Bombay 1.
- 1930 TARAPOREVALA, VICAJI D. B., 190, Hornby Road, Bombay 1.
- 1929 TARKUNDE, B. M., B.A., 322, Shanwar Peth, Poona City.
- 1896 TATA, Sir DORABJI J., Kt., Bombay House, Bruce Street, Bombay 1.
- \*1915 TAYLOR, E. G., I.C.S. (Bombay).
- 1930 TEASDALE, J. P., Thos. Cook & Son, Hornby Road, Bombay.
- 1928 THACKER, M. N., 19, Chandra Bhuwan, Harvey Road, Bombay 7.
- \*†1914 THAKORE, B. K., Raopura, Baroda.
- 1924 THAKOR GOVINDLAL N., Ekadashi Bldg., Parekh St., Bombay 4.
- †1906 THAKORE, ISHWARLAL N.
- 1928 THATTI, R. D., 55, Apollo Street, Bombay 1.



- 1930 THOMPSON, Miss C. C., St. Columba High School, Alexandra Road, Bombay 7.
- \*1924 THOMPSON, Miss M. W., Mahabubi Mission, Hyderabad (Deccan).
- 1910 TILLEY, J. S., Mackenzies, Ltd., Sewri, Bombay 15.
- 1931 TIRODKAR, R. S., M.D. (Lond.), Anandashram, Harvey Road, Bombay 7.
- \*1923 TODD, A., Phipson & Co., P. O. Box 2303, Calcutta.
- 1922 TOMLINSON, Miss J., Cathedral Girls' School, Bombay 1.
- †1915 TRIPATHI, D. T., China Baug, Bombay 4.
- 1929 TRIVEDI, C. M., B.A., LL.B., Diamond House, Wachha-Gandhi Road, Bombay 7.
- 1915 TUCKER, L. F., Eastern Bank, Bombay 1.
- 1931 TURNER, C. W. A., C.I.E., I.C.S. (Bombay).
- †1921 TYABJI, AMIN M. B., Chowpaty Sea Face, Bombay 7.
- 1924 TYABJI, CAMAR S., 9, Forbes Street, Bombay 1.
- 1916 TYABJI, The Hon. Mr. Justice FAIZ B., Bar-at-Law, Bombay 6.
- \*1908 TYABJI, SALMAN, B.A., M.I.C.E., P. W. D. (Bombay).
- 1930 URIE, R. W., Vacuum Oil Co., Ballard Estate, Bombay 1.
- 1929 VAIDYA, B. C., Bar-at-Law, Kunte Building, Girgaum Back Road, Bombay 4.
- \*1905 VAIDYA, C. V., M.A., LL.B., Kalyan.
- †1921 VAIDYA, J. S., Zandu Pharmacy, Bombay 13.
- \*†1926 VAIDYA, Dr. P. L., M.A., D. Litt., Fergusson College, Poona.
- †1905 VAIDYA, V. P., Bar-at-Law, Kirti Bldg., Forbes St., Bombay 1.
- 1921 VAKIL, K. H., B.A., LL.B., Villa Vasant, Santa Cruz.
- 1921 VAKIL, M. R., LL.B., Bar-at-Law, 217, Charni Road, Bombay 4.
- \*1923 VASVANI, B. J., M.A., Modern Publishing Co., Bombay 4.
- \*1918 VAZE, S. G., Servants of India Society, Poona.
- 1929 VELANKAR, Prof. H. D., M.A., Jivanji's Chawl, Cow Lane, Bombay 4.
- 1927 VELINKAR, V. S., B.A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, 56, Esplanade Road, Bombay 1.
- 1929 VENKATRAO, Dr. M., N. Powell & Co., Lamington Road, Bombay.
- \*1906 VENKOBIA RAO, B., B.A., Office of the Consulting Architect to Government, Lalbagh, Bangalore.
- \*1920 VENN, T. W., B. S. N. Co., Mangalore.
- \*1924 VIJAYARAI KALYANRAI, Ellis Bridge, Ahmedabad.
- \*1920 VINCHURKAR, Shrimant NARAYANRAO GOVINDRAO, Nasik.
- \*1920 VISVESWARAYYA, Sir M., K.C.I.E., Bangalore.
- \*1910 VORA, C. H., Kalabhavan, Baroda.
- 1928 WADIA, A. K., Justice Shah's Bungalow, Pedder Road, Bombay 6.
- 1929 WADIA, The Hon. Mr. B. J., Bar-at-Law, High Court, Bombay.

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 1899 WADIA, Prof. P. A., Hormazd Villa, Bombay 6.  
 1926 WADIA, Mrs. PIROZA A. J., Wilderness Road, Bombay 6.  
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 1914 WAGLE, B. K., B.A. (Cantab.), Municipal Office, Bombay 1.  
 1928 WALCHAND HIRACHAND, Phoenix Bldg., Ballard Estate, Bombay 1.  
 1922 WALLACE, R. P., 16, New Queen's Road, Bombay 4.  
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 1923 WEBB, A. C., Lloyd Triestino S. N. Co., Ballard Estate, Bombay 1.  
 \*1917 WEBSTER, J. H., Eastern Bank, Colombo, Ceylon.  
 \*1922 WELINGKAR, R. N., B.A. (Oxon.), Gujarat College, Ahmedabad.  
 1926 WHELAN, A. H., National Bank of India, Bombay 1.  
 1928 WILSON, W. B., National Aniline and Chemical Co., 65-73, Argyle Road, Bombay.  
 1929 WORTHINGTON, E. G., Bombay Port Trust, Bombay.  
 1923 WRIGHT, FRANK, B. E. S. & T. Co., Bombay 1.  
 \*1920 WRIGHT, The Rev. H. K., Ahmednagar.  
 1930 WUTHRICH, F. F., Netherlands Coml. Bank, Hornby Road, Bombay.  
 1928 YAJNIK, I. K., Old Watson Hotel Bldg., Bombay 1.

**Fellows.**

- 1921 DR. F. W. THOMAS, India Office, London.  
 1922 DR. SYLVAIN LEVI, College de France, Paris.  
 1923 DR. M. WINTERNITZ, Prague University, Czechoslovakia.  
 1924 DR. GANGANATH JHA, Allahabad University.  
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 1924 SIR JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., Calcutta University.  
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 1924 PROF. SHAIKH ABDUL KADIR SURFRAZ, M.A., Deccan College, Poona.  
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TRANSLITERATION OF THE  
SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ . . . . . a	औ . . . . . au	ठ . . . . . ṭh	भ . . . . . bh
आ . . . . . ā	क . . . . . k	ड . . . . . ḍ	म . . . . . m
इ . . . . . i	ख . . . . . kh	ढ . . . . . ḍh	य . . . . . y
ई . . . . . ī	ग . . . . . g	ण . . . . . ṇ	र . . . . . r
उ . . . . . u	घ . . . . . gh	त . . . . . t	ल . . . . . l
ऊ . . . . . ū	ङ . . . . . ṅ	थ . . . . . th	व . . . . . v
ऋ . . . . . ṛ	च . . . . . c	द . . . . . d	श . . . . . ś
ॠ . . . . . ṝ	छ . . . . . ch	ध . . . . . dh	ष . . . . . ṣ
ऌ . . . . . ḷ	ज . . . . . j	न . . . . . n	स . . . . . s
ए . . . . . e	झ . . . . . jh	प . . . . . p	ह . . . . . h
ऐ . . . . . ai	ञ . . . . . ñ	फ . . . . . ph	ळ . . . . . ḷ
ओ . . . . . o	ट . . . . . ṭ	ब . . . . . b	

— (Anusvāra) . . . . . ṁ	× (Jihvāmūliya) . . . . . ḥ
~ (Anunāsika) . . . . . ṁ̃	≍ (Upadhmanīya) . . . . . ḥ
: (Visarga) . . . . . ḥ	s (Avagraha) . . . . . ’

# TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

## ARABIC.

ا . . . . . a	ز . . . . . z	ق . . . . . q	ـَ . . . . . i or e
ب . . . . . b	س . . . . . s	ك . . . . . k	ـُ . . . . . u or o
ت . . . . . t	ش . . . . . <u>sh</u>	ل . . . . . l	ـِ . . . . . ā
ث . . . . . <u>th</u>	ص . . . . . ṣ	م . . . . . m	ـِـي . . . . . ī, e
ج . . . . . j	ض . . . . . ḍ	ن . . . . . n	ـُـ . . . . . ū, o
ح . . . . . ḥ	ط . . . . . ṭ	و . . . . . w	ـِـي . . . . . ai
خ . . . . . <u>kh</u>	ظ . . . . . ḏ	ه . . . . . h	ـِـو . . . . . au
د . . . . . d	ع . . . . . ʿ	ي . . . . . y	silent t . . . . . ḥ
ذ . . . . . <u>dh</u>	غ . . . . . <u>gh</u>	ء . . . . . ʾ	
ر . . . . . r	ف . . . . . f	ـِ . . . . . a	

## PERSIAN.

پ . . . . . p	چ . . . . . <u>ch</u>	ژ . . . . . <u>zh</u>	گ . . . . . g
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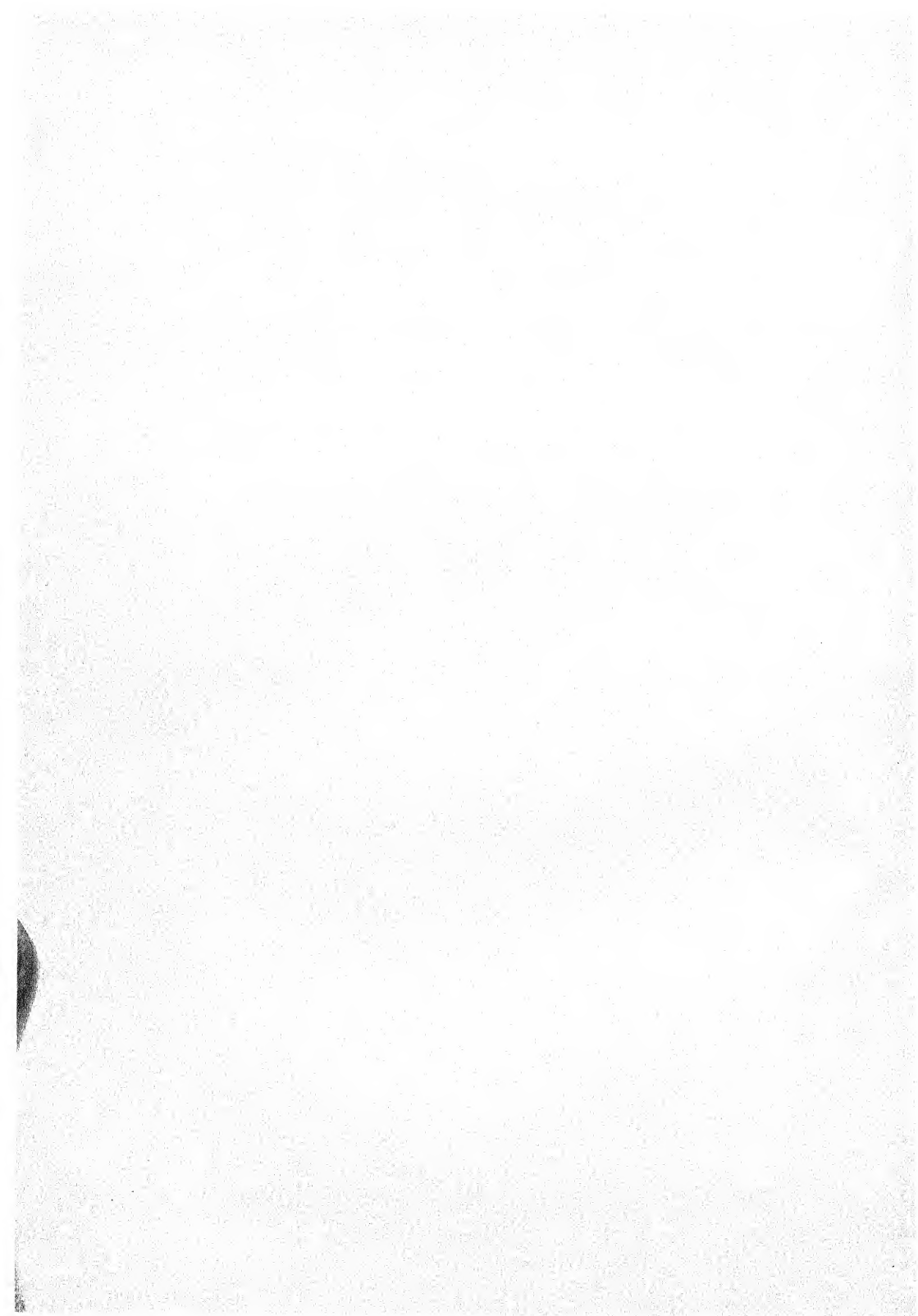
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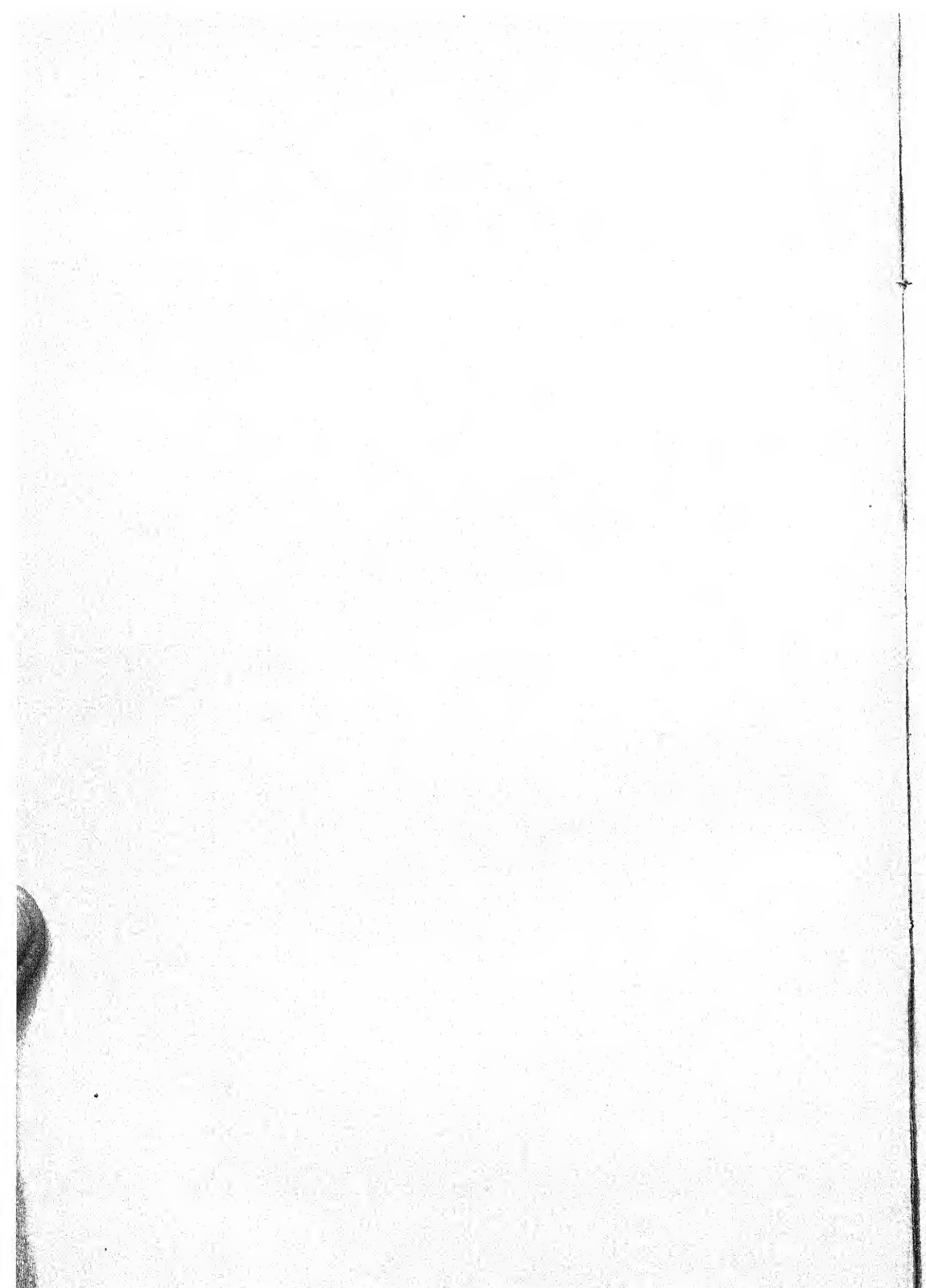
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VR̥TTAJĀTISAMUCCAYA OF VIRAHĀṆKA

(A TREATISE ON PRAKRIT METRES.)

(CHAPTERS V—VI.)

BY PROF. H. D. VELANKAR.

(*Continued from Vol. V, p. 94.*)

INTRODUCTION.

In my last article on the subject which appeared in Volume 5 I had given only the first four chapters of Virahāṇka's work. Here I propose to give the remaining two chapters. Some of the missing folios containing the commentary on these chapters have been found, and this helped me a great deal in restoring the text of this rare work.

In the fifth chapter of this work, the author defines 52 metres generally employed by Sanskrit writers. He uses the Sanskrit language in defining these probably meaning thereby that these metres are used in Sanskrit as a rule. Compare the definition of the metre called Sāmyā (IV. 23) and the note containing the commentator's remark on it.

Among the metres that are defined here, it is remarkable that our author does not mention any Ardhasama or Viṣama metres. Even among the Prakrit metres, he mentions only a few Ardhasama metres, but does not classify them under a separate heading except in the case of the Dvipadis (cf. III 47-54 ; IV. 18 ; 48-50 ; 66 ; 81 ;

84 ; 104). As regards the Viṣama Vṛttas, he evidently knows only the solitary Catuspada (cf. IV. 69). That he did not regard the Ardhasama and Viṣama Vṛttas as separate divisions is also evident from the fact that in describing the six Pratyayas, he never once mentions how to do these in the case of the Ardhasama and Viṣama Vṛttas as is done for example, by Hemacandra.

Another curious thing about these definitions is that they do not contain a reference anywhere to the Yati, *i.e.*, the Cæsura in the body of a line. It is probable that our author did not accept the theory of Yati. In his opinion, the Yati seems to be merely a matter of convenience even in the Sanskrit metres as it is in the Prakrit ones. The commentator of Kavidarpaṇa (a work on Prakrit metres written about the 12th century A. D. and which I soon intend to publish along with Nanditāḍhya and Chandakoṣa of Ratnaśekhara) quotes a stanza of Svayambhū (obviously a writer on Prakrit metres, to whom a reference is also found in the Avacūri on Nanditāḍhya) in this connection. According to it, Jayadeva and Piṅgala alone accept the theory of Yati in Sanskrit metres, while Māṇḍavya, Bharata, Kāśyapa, Saitava and others do not accept it. Our author probably belonged to the latter school. Hemacandra knew all these writers as is obvious from his reference to them. Our author also seems to have known them. He mentions Piṅgala (I. 1 ; VI. 1) and Māṇḍavya (VI. 1) by name. As regards Kāśyapa and Jayadeva, he seems to have known them since he gives the names Siṃhonnata (v. 31) and Narkuṭaka (v. 38) to the metres usually known as Vasantatilaka and Avitatha. Now the names Siṃhākṛānta and Narkuṭaka were first given to these metres by Kāśyapa and Jayadeva respectively as Hemacandra (p. 10a, line 9 and p. 13a, line 2) tells us. It is not improbable that our author copied the names from these writers.

One more thing which attracts our notice in Virahāṅka's treatment of Sanskrit metres is that he does not use the eight Akṣara Gaṇas in defining them. He sticks to the terms mentioned by him at I. 17-33. Naturally the definition is not finished in a Pāda of the defined metre as is usually done by other writers ; but the whole metre is employed for this purpose which naturally

tries the patience of the reader to the utmost. Long compounds and meaningless adjectives are used to fill up the gaps. This strange procedure leads us to assume either that Virahāṅka did not know the Akṣara Gaṇas—which is highly improbable though Virahāṅka does not actually mention them anywhere—or that he purposely employed the whole metres and not merely a Pāda for defining them. Generally whole stanzas are employed for defining Prakrit metres; Virhāṅka merely extended this method to the Sanskrit metres, even at the cost of brevity. One is, however, unable to understand his purpose in doing this.

The name Miśrā (v. 21) given to the Upajāti metre is significant. The other name Saikatripādā given to the same metre appears to suggest that an Upajāti stanza usually contained *one* line of either Indravajrā or Upendravajrā and *three* of the other. Though Virahāṅka does not arrange the Sanskrit metres under 26 heads beginning with Uktā and ending with Utkṛti still this division which is based on the number of letters in a Pāda, was certainly known to him as is clear from the order in which the metres are arranged and also from his reference to Bṛhatī (VI. 16) and Utkṛti (VI. 17; 44, &c.)

In the sixth or the last chapter, the author proceeds to describe the six “proofs” (modification is not the correct translation of Pratyaya) as promised at I. 12. These are:—(1) Prastāra, (2) Naṣṭa, (3) Uddiṣṭa, (4) Laghukriyā, (5) Saṅkhyā and (6) Adhvā. Among these, the first or the Prastāra is of various kinds; our author describes eight different varieties of it, namely (1) Sūci, (2) Meru, (3) Patakā, (4) Samudra, (5) Viparītasamudra, (6) Pātāla, (7) Śālmali and (8) Viparītaśālmali.

The first of these, *i.e.*, the *Sūci* consists in putting down the numeral 1 as many times as there are letters in a Pāda of a given metre and once more (v. 5a) and adding the first to the second, the second to the third, the third to the fourth and so on, leaving the last figure every time (v. 6b) in the process of addition. The process is to be repeated until the second figure becomes the last one (v. 7a) and is left out in the addition. Thus in the case of a metre with five letters in a Pāda, put down the numeral 1 six times

*Sūci.*  
(Vv. 5-7.)



(1, 1, 1, 1, 1, 1) and go on adding as directed above. We get then I (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 1); II (1, 3, 6, 10, 5, 1); III (1, 4, 10, 10, 5, 1); IV (1, 5, 10, 10, 5, 1) respectively. The last is the Sūci and the figures in it respectively represent the number of permutations (Prastārapātagaṇanā) of the above metre containing (1) no short letter or all long letters, (2) one short letter, (3) two short letters, (4) three short letters, (5) four short letters and (6) five or all short letters. Again the total of the different figures naturally represents the Saṅkhyā, i.e., the total number of all the possible permutations of the metre. In the present case it is 32. Hemacandra describes the process at p. 48b, line 16 ff. without giving the name Sūci Prastāra to it.

The second or the *Meru Prastāra* is nothing but a collection of the Sūci Prastāras of metres containing from 1 to 26 letters in a Pāda, arranged one below the other in rising succession. Its purpose is the same as that of the Sūci. The actual process, however, slightly differs. It is as follows:—Write two small squares in the first line, three in the second, four in the third and so on adding one square in each subsequent line (v. 8a). Write the numeral 1 in each of the two squares in the first line: thereafter write the same in the *first* and the *last* squares in each line (v. 8b). In each of the middle squares write the number which is obtained by adding together the numbers in the two squares just above it in the upper line (v. 9a; the squares in the lower line are to be so placed as to be midway between the two squares in the upper line). The resulting figures will be the Sūci Prastāras of the different metres containing from 2 to 26 letters as said above; cf. Prākṛta Piṅgala (N.S.P. ed.) I. 40.

The third or the *Patākā Prastāra* is intended for showing the structure of all the different permutations of a metre. It is to be arranged in as many vertical lines as there are letters in the Pāda of a given metre. Thus there will be three vertical lines for a metre with three letters in a Pāda. In the first of these lines, long(s) and short (i) letters should be arranged in succession (Maṇiravamālākāro). The total number of these letters is

to be determined in the following way:—In the case of a metre having only *one* letter in a Pāda it will be 2; now this number should be doubled for each additional letter in a Pāda. Thus for a metre with two letters in a Pāda it will be 4; for a metre with three it will be 8; for one with four letters it will be 16 and so on (Viṇṇe Viṇṇehi Vaḍḍhio Kamaso). The number of long and short letters following each other in succession in the *first* line is thus fixed. The same number of letters is contained in each of the other lines but the manner in which the long and short letters follow each other differs, the rule being that the number of long letters in succession followed by an equal number of short letters in succession for each succeeding line is double the number of those in each previous line (Viṇṇe Viṇṇehi Vaḍḍhio Kamaso). Thus in the first line there is only *one* long letter followed by *one* short letter. In the second, there will be *two* long letters followed by *two* short letters in succession. In the third there will be *four* and in the fourth there will be *eight* long letters in succession followed by an equal number of short letters in succession and so on, the number of the vertical lines being determined as said above, by the number of letters in a Pāda of the given metre. In each case, half the letters in the last line will be long in succession and will be followed by an equal number of short letters in succession (Ñihaṇaddhamāṇi Ravaddho ya).

The fourth or the *Samudra Prastāra* is in form exactly like the *Patākā* and is intended for the same purpose. But

*Samudra.*

(Vv. 13-20.)

the process by which it is done slightly differs. Here the *Prastāra* is arranged in *horizontal* and not vertical lines. In the first line put down as many long letters as there are letters in a Pāda of a given metre (Jahicchāe). Then in the second, place a short letter under the *first long* letter (Paḍhamamacamara) in the upper line and then copy down the letters as they are in the upper line. Follow the same process in the subsequent lines until we get all short letters (Farisā savve) in the last line. Only, when there are short letters *preceding* (Magge) the *first long* letter in the upper line, we should write all long letters under these, in the lower line (v. 14b). Both these *Prastāras* are explained by Hemacandra without giving the

names at p. 46b, line 6 ff and p. 47b, line 9 ff. This same method is to be followed for doing the Prastāra for Mātrā Vṛttas, but where by following the process, the required number of Mātrās is not obtained in a particular Gaṇa, one short letter (ṛ) should be added at the beginning (v. 18b) and thus the number of Mātrās be completed. This extra Mātrā is of course to be disregarded in the process, i.e., no long letter is to be written under it in the next lower line. Only in the case of the uneven Gaṇas of a Gāthā (v. 19) this extra short letter is to be placed under the *last long* letter (Antacamatra) of the Gaṇa in the upper line and not at the beginning as said above, thus avoiding the Narendra (ṛṣ) group which is forbidden in these Gaṇas (v. 20a). Again, in the case of Gaṇas containing an odd number of Mātrās, i.e., 5, 7, etc., (Viṣamamattāṇa), the first permutation should have the first letter short (v. 20b) and the rest long ones. Cf. also, Hemacandra, p. 47b, line 8 ff.

The fifth or the *Viparītasamudra* is just the opposite of the last variety. In it, the process of the *Samudra* is to be reversed. In the first line we have all short letters. Then in each succeeding line a long letter should be written under the *first* short letter (Paḍhmaravāho) in the upper line and the rest should be copied as they are in the upper line. Under the letters which precede the *first* short letter in the upper line, however, we should write all short letters (Maggathiāvi farisā) in the lower line and go on in this manner until we get all long letters in the last line.

The sixth or the *Pātāla Prastāra* consists of five figures respectively representing (1) the total number of permutations of the metre; (2) the total number of letters contained in these permutations; (3) the total number of Mātrās contained in them; (4) the total number of short letters in them and (5) the total number of long letters in them (v. 23b). Of these figures the first is obtained from the Sūcī Prastāra; the second is obtained by multiplying the first by the number of letters in a Pāda (Pāṅka) of the given metre. The fourth and the fifth figures are obtained by halving the second, and the third is obtained by tripling the fourth or the fifth

(vv. 22b; 23a). Thus the Pātāla Prastāra of a metre with three letters in a Pāda would be :—8, 24, 36, 12, 12.

The seventh or the *Śālmali Prastāra* consists of several lines, each containing three figures, which represent the number of short letters, the total number of letters and the number of long letters in order, contained in each of the different varieties or permutations of a Mātrāvṛtta. In the text, the author explains the *Śālmali* of a Gāthā. In the first line which represents the first permutation of a Gāthā, are given the smallest number of short letters and the largest number of long ones contained in it. They are 3 and 27. Thus in the first line of the *Śālmali* of a Gāthā the three figures will be 3, 30, 27. In each of the succeeding lines which represent the other succeeding permutations of a Gāthā, the first heap shall increase by 2, the second by 1 and the third shall decrease by 1, (vv. 24b, 25a). The figures in the second line will thus be 5, 31, 26; those in the third will be 7, 32, 25 and so on, until the last figure is 2 (Doccia Nihane), i.e., in 53, 55, 2.

The eighth or the *Viparītaśālmali* is the opposite of the last. Here the three figures in a line respectively represent the number of short letters, the total number of letters and the number of long letters in each permutation. Only, in the first line we have the *largest* number of short letters and the *smallest* number of long ones. Thus we have 53, 55, 2 in the first line. Then in each of the subsequent lines, the first heap shall decrease by 2, the second by 1 and the third shall increase by 1, so that the last line of the *Viparītaśālmali* of a Gāthā shall be equal to the first line of the *Śālmali* and *vice versa*.

Out of these eight kinds of Prastāra, only three, namely, Pātākā, Samudra and Viparītasamudra are concerned with the different forms which a metre with a given number of letters or Mātrās may assume. The remaining five are intended for ascertaining the different numbers connected with these forms, e.g., the number of short and long letters, the number of total Mātrās, the total number of the permutations of a metre, etc. Prastāra literally means 'spreading out', and usually the term is under-

stood as referring to the "spreading out" of the various forms which a metre may assume. This is how Hemacandra understands the word. According to this connotation only the three kinds mentioned above may be regarded as proper Prastāras. But our author seems to have understood the word a little differently. Prastāra according to him is (1) the spreading out of the various *forms* of a metre, as also (2) the spreading out of the *figures* so as to arrive at the number of short and long letters etc., in these forms. (The word is of course used also in the sense of 'one of the various forms of a metre,' but this meaning is obviously connected with No. (1) and is only an extension or rather a restriction of it). Virahāṅka, however, seems to have forgotten that according to this connotation of the word, the Prastāra includes Laghukriyā and Saṅkhyā and the sixfold division of Pratyaya becomes overlapping. Accordingly when Virahāṅka comes to treat of Laghukriyā and Saṅkhyā, he finds that the subject has already been treated under Prastāra and so he only gives additional methods of doing the Laghukriyā and Saṅkhyā.

Hemacandra, on the other hand, took the word in the first of the two senses mentioned above, and therefore under Prastāra, he describes only the two, namely, Patākā and Samudra without of course, giving the names. The third, *i.e.*, Viparītasamudra is not an important variety, being merely the reverse of Samudra, and hence was neglected by him. Of the remaining five which are concerned with figures, he describes only the Sūcī under the Laghukriyā. Here, too, he does not mention the name. As for Piṅgala, he mentions Meru and Patākā but does not call them Prastāras. His Meru is meant for knowing the *total number* of the permutations of a given metre containing one or more short or long letters, while from his Patākā the *Serial Number* of these permutations is ascertained. Piṅgala gives two varieties each of Meru and Patākā:—(1) Varṇameru and (2) Mātrāmeru; (1) Varṇapatākā and (2) Mātrāpatākā. Virahāṅka's Meru agrees with Piṅgala's Varṇameru but the Patākā of the former is entirely different from that of the latter. Piṅgala again does not use the word Pratyaya though he seems to know the term Prastāra used in the sense of a 'permutation' (cf. I. 50). Hemacandra knows both the terms and his division of the Pratyayas

is more scientific than that of Virahāṅka as seen above. If we are permitted to assume that the present form of the Prakṛta Piṅgala Sūtra is but an amplification of an older work we may perhaps remark that the treatment of Piṅgala, Virahāṅka and Hemacandra roughly represents the three successive stages in the development of Prakrit Metrics.

Of the remaining Pratyayas, the second is the *Naṣṭa*.

*Naṣṭa* and  
*Uddiṣṭa*.  
(Vv. 29-39.)

Its purpose is to find out the unknown (*Naṣṭa*) structure (Vṛtta) (v. 29a) of a particular permutation of a metre, the serial number (*Aṅka*) of this permutation being given. As opposed to this, in the third Pratyaya, *i.e.*, the *Uddiṣṭa*, the structure of a particular permutation is given and we are to find out its serial number (*Kaammi Ṭhāṇammi*) among the permutations of that metre. The terms *Naṣṭa* and *Uddiṣṭa* are used with reference to the structure of a permutation and not its serial number. To find out the unknown structure or form of a permutation when its serial number is given, we should write down in the first place, a long letter (s) if this given number be an *odd* figure and a short one (r) if it be *even* (v. 30 a). Then halve the given number further and further every time writing down a long or short letter according as the number obtained by halving is odd or even (v. 30a). The process should be continued until we obtain the required number of letters. The letters obtained in this manner represent the required structure. In the process of halving, 1 should be added to an odd number to obtain an equal division (v. 31a). When the division reaches the figure 1 (*Naṭṭhaṅke*), all the remaining letters should be written down long (*Kaḍaāi*) and this is obvious; cf. Hemacandra p. 47b, line 12 ff.

Now, to find out the serial number of a permutation, the structure of which is given (*Uddiṣṭa*), take the *last* short letter (*Antam farisam*) in the structure and double it, counting it as equal to 1. Thus we get 2; this number then, should be further and further doubled for each letter which precedes this last short letter, always deducting 1 from the figure obtained by doubling when the letter is long (*Ekkekkaṁ Camaresum Muṇcaha*); when the letter is short, 1 should not be deducted. The final



figure which we get is the serial number required (v. 34).

The Naṣṭa and Uddiṣṭa explained above are those of the Varṇavṛttas. See the notes on vv. 38-39 for those of the Mātrāvṛttas. Also cf. Hemacandra p. 48b, line 1 ff. In stanzas 35-37 the author explains the Naṣṭa and Uddiṣṭa of Mātrāvṛttas but it is with reference to the letters contained in them. He explains how to find out the unknown (Naṣṭa) number of letters when the serial number of the permutation of a Gāthā is given, and *vice versa*. See notes for the method. What is striking, however, is that here the terms Naṣṭa and Uddiṣṭa refer to the *Varṇasaṅkhyā* and not to the *Vṛttrarūpa* as they usually do.

The fourth Pratyaya is *Laghukriyā*. It is either a process to find out the number of permutations containing a given number of short or long letters of a Vṛtta or a process to get the number of short and long letters in it. Virahāṅka under La-

*Laghukriyā.*  
(Vv. 40-41.)

ghukriyā, gives only the latter process (see notes), as he has given the former while treating of Sūci and Meru Prastāras (cf. Lahukiriā Lambhae Saṅkhā—VI. 9). Hemacandra (p. 48b) gives only one, *i.e.*, the former, and in this connection he explains what Virahāṅka calls the Sūci Prastāra.

The fifth Pratyaya is *Saṅkhyā*. This, too, as shown above (under Sūci; also cf. VI. 9) is already taught in the Prastāra. Here, therefore, the author gives

*Saṅkhyā.*  
(Vv. 42-49.)

only an additional method for getting the Saṅkhyā, *i.e.*, the total number of permutations of a metre. It is this:—The Saṅkhyā for a metre with 1 letter (Antimavanṇe) in a Pāda is 2; this is to be doubled continuously for each additional letter in a Pāda (v. 42). Thus the Saṅkhyā for a metre with 2 letters in a Pāda is 4; for a metre with three letters in a Pāda it is 8 and so on (v. 43). For Mātrāvṛttas, the rule is different. The Saṅkhyā for a metre with only 1 Mātrā is 1; that for a metre with 2 Mātrās is 2; that for a metre with 3 Mātrās is 3; hereafter, the Saṅkhyā for a metre with an additional Mātrā is equal to the Saṅkhyā of the two preceding metres added together (v. 45). Thus the Saṅkhyā for a metre with 4 Mātrās is  $2+3=5$ ; that for a metre with 5 Mātrās is  $3+5=8$ ; that for

a metre with 6 Mātrās is  $5+8=13$  and so on. In vv. 48-49, Virahāṅka gives another way of obtaining the Sankhyā for a Gāthā, for which see Hemacandra, p. 49b, line 5 ff, and the notes.

The sixth and the last Pratyaya is *Adhvā*. *Adhvā* is the way *i.e.*, the space occupied by the permutations of a metre. This is explained by Virahāṅka in the remaining stanzas of the chapter. In this connection he gives an interesting table of the measures of length. It is as follows:—4 *Āṅgulas* = 1 *Rāma*; 3 *Rāmas* = 1 *Vitasti*; 2 *Vitastis* = 1 *Hasta*; 4 *Hastas* = 1 *Dhanus*; 2000 *Dhanus* = 1 *Krośa*; 8 *Krośas* = 1 *Yojana*. All these are well known except *Rāma* and *Dhanus* or *Dhanuhkara*. *Rāma* probably is the palm with extended fingers leaving out the thumb. This is still used by villagers for measuring ordinary length of things in *Āṅgulas*. *Dhanuhkara* is perhaps the stick of the bow.

As regards the space, one letter short or long requires in the opinion of Virahāṅka, one *Āṅgula*. Again the blank space to be left between two letters is also one *Āṅgula*. Thus two letters require three *Āṅgulas* which is approximately equal to two inches and a quarter. So much space for letters could not obviously have been allowed when they were written on either palm-leaf or birch-bark as the leaves are not very broad. But it could possibly be allowed when copper-plates or rocks or for ordinary purposes a wooden slate with dust spread over it served as the writing material. I do not surely intend to maintain that Virahāṅka lived at a time when birch-bark or palm-leaves were not generally used as writing material though this is not impossible. But the true explanation of this curious fact seems to be that Virahāṅka taught what he learnt from tradition which of course must have originated at a time when so much space was given to each letter or when writing was still rather rare.

It will be seen from a reference to the notes, that v. 50 and the first half of v. 56 were composed by the commentator and inserted into the text. V. 57 was also materially changed by him as it did not accord with facts.

अथ विरहाङ्कुकुतः वृत्तजातिसमुच्चयः ।

V

गौं रत्नांशो ॥ १ ॥

मुक्तायुग्मं नौरित्युक्ता ॥ २ ॥

द्वे रत्ने वैदूर्यम् ॥ सा नारी । ज्ञातव्या ॥ ३ ॥

सपटहम् । मरकतम् ॥ प्रियतमे । मृगवधूः ॥ ४ ॥

नूपुरहस्तौ । रत्नविरामौ ॥ अक्षरपङ्क्तिः । नाम मृगाक्षि ॥ ५ ॥

कर्णं कुरु भद्रे । स्पर्शं सपताकम् ॥

अन्ते चमरं चेत् । बाले तनुमध्या ॥ ६ ॥

रत्ने नूपुरयुक्ते । भावश्चैव तु पश्चात् ॥

कर्णश्चेन्निधनस्थो । भद्रे सा मदलेखा ॥ ७ ॥

रसरवसहितम् । सपटहचमरम् ॥

शशिसुखि सुभगे । हरिविलसितकम् ॥ ८ ॥

आदौ कर्णौ नित्यं भद्रे । रत्ने तस्मात्पश्चात्कृत्वा ॥

अन्ते शुभ्रं मुक्तायुग्मम् । ज्ञेयं वृत्तं विद्युन्माला ॥ ९ ॥

रत्ने रसरवौ प्रिये । केयूरमपरं भवेत् ॥

रूपं सकटकं सदा । श्यामा सुतनु कीर्तिता ॥ १० ॥

नूपुरशद्वनरेन्द्रान् । भामिनि पश्यसि यत्र ॥

रूपयुतं यदि कर्णम् । शोभन एष धितानः ॥ ११ ॥

चामरभावौ कटकौ । पश्यसि हस्तं दयिते ॥

यस्य च नित्यं ललितम् । माणवकक्रीडितकम् ॥ १२ ॥

पक्षिनाथवैजयन्ती । रूपहारमौक्तिकानि ॥

नीलनीरजाक्षि मुग्धे । मालिनीति नाम वृत्तम् ॥ १३ ॥

द्विजपटहचमरम् । कमलमुखि सुभगे ॥

तरलतरनयने । सुविकसितकुसुमम् ॥ १४ ॥

यस्याजौ सप्तमं रूपम् । समस्तेषु च पञ्चमम् ॥

पादेषु चमरं षष्ठम् । श्लोकं तं तु विनिर्दिशेत् ॥ १५ ॥

रसपटहनूपुराणि । कमलमुखि रूपभाञ्जि ।

निधनगतचारुकर्णा । बुधजनकृतात्र गुर्वी ॥ १६ ॥

रवपटहौ तनुसुभगे । शशिसुखि चामरसरसौ ॥

निधनगतं सुतनु करम् । त्वरितगातिर्भवति ततः ॥ १७ ॥

नूपुरशङ्खौ चामरयुक्तौ । पश्यसि कान्ते रत्नरवौ च ॥

यत्र सुरेभं नैधनसंस्थम् । सा किल भद्रे चम्पकमाला ॥ १८ ॥

प्रेवेयकं रत्नपताकयुक्तम् ।

पादं च मुग्धे करभोरु कान्ते ॥

यस्या मणिं पश्यसि राजमानम् ।

सैरावतान्ता कथितेन्द्रवज्रा ॥ १९ ॥

उपेन्द्रवज्रा ध्वजरूपहारैः ।

सचामरैः शङ्खनरेन्द्रकर्णैः ॥

शशाङ्कवक्त्रे सुखदा कवीनाम् ।

प्रभूतशास्त्रार्थविचक्षणानाम् ॥ २० ॥

या इन्द्रवज्रार्धसमानरूपम् ।

उपेन्द्रवज्रार्धमुपैति यस्याः ॥

मिश्रेति नाम्ना कविभिः प्रयुक्ता ।

सैकत्रिपादेत्यपरे वदन्ति ॥ २१ ॥

रत्ने कृत्वा चामरं चैव पश्चात् ।

कर्णं मुग्धे स्पर्शयुक्तं वरोरु ॥

भूयः कर्णं देवपीलुं (नागं?) च दद्यात् ।

छन्दस्यैका (षा) शालिनी नाम वृत्तम् ॥ २२ ॥

आदौ रत्नं शशिमुखि सुभगे ।

कर्णस्तस्माद्भरतनु ललिते ॥

रत्नं भूयः पटहरयुतम् ।

हस्तश्चान्ते भ्रमरविलसितम् ॥ २३ ॥

यत्र मणिं प्रथमं तु नियुक्तम् ।

स्पर्शरसौ कटकं च रसं च ॥

नूपुरभावयुतं यदि कर्णम् ।

पश्यसि भामिनि दोधकवृत्तम् ॥ २४ ॥

वैनतेयपटहौ यदि भद्रे ।

वीक्षसे च कटकं रवयुक्तम् ॥

वैजयन्तिचमरं च वरोरु ।

स्वागतेति कवयः प्रवदन्ति ॥ २५ ॥

मुखे तु राजा चमरो विभूषणम् ।

रवद्वयं चारु वरोरु दृश्यते ॥

सपारिहार्यं च यदि ध्वजद्वयम् ।

वदन्ति सभ्याः सुवसन्तमञ्जरीम् ॥ २६ ॥

रसनूपुरशद्वनरेन्द्ररवम् ।

कटकं च वरोरु भवेत्तु यदा ॥

यदि गन्धयुगं चमरं च भवेत् ।

पठ तोटकवृत्तमिदं सुभगे ॥ २७ ॥

रसरवौ कटकं पुरतः सदा ।

करयुगं च ततः सरवौ मणिः ॥

द्रुतविलम्बितहंसगति प्रिये ।

द्रुतविलम्बितवृत्तमिदं तदा ॥ २८ ॥

द्वे रत्ने चरणरवौ च यत्र बाले ।

रूपं मौक्तिकसहितं ध्वजश्च मुग्धे ॥

अन्तस्थः सुरपतिवारणश्च मत्तः ।

तद्वृत्तं किल सुभगे मयूरपिच्छम् ॥ २९ ॥

मुरवे रवश्चमरविभूषितो ध्वजः ।

ततो रसो वरतनु शद्वयोजितः ॥

विशंपतिं कुरु सुभगे सनूपुरम् ।

सदागतिं वदति जनो ध्वजाङ्किताम् ॥ ३० ॥

पानोन्नतस्तनभरानतगात्रयष्टे ।

सिंहोज्ज्वलां प्रकथयामि तवाहमय ॥

वृत्तं प्रिये श्रवणपार्थिवपाणियुग्मम् ।

देवेशवारणविरामनियुक्तपादम् ॥ ३१ ॥

रसपटहपताकाचामरैरुल्लसद्भिः ।

विहगपतिनिबद्धैर्निर्मलैः पद्मरागैः ॥

विरचितसुरनागैर्बाक्षसे यत्र पादान् ।

भवति तदिह मुग्धे मालिनीनाम वृत्तम् ॥ ३२ ॥

नूपुरभावयुग्मसहितं खगं सुपटहम् ।

रत्नसुशोभितं वरतनु क्रमेण चमरम् ॥

यत्र हि वीक्षसे नरपतिं सदा शशिमुखि ।

हस्तविरामकं प्रमुदिता भवेत्तु सुभगे ॥ ३३ ॥

कर्णौ भावौ भुजगसहितौ वैनतेयः सरत्नो ।

बाले रूपं मरकतमथो हारमिन्दीवराक्षि ।

पादे यस्याः सुतनु नियतं दृश्यते चान्तसंस्थम् ।

मन्दाक्रान्ता किल निगदिता पण्डितैः सा वरोरु ॥ ३४ ॥

सुरेन्द्रं कर्णं चरणपटहं चन्द्रवदने ।

पप (?) यस्मिंल्ललितगमने पश्यसि पुनः ॥

नियुक्तं केयूरं मरकतयुतं भावसाहितम् ।

ध्वजश्चान्ते यस्याः सुतनु कथिता सा शिखरिणी ॥ ३५ ॥

पयोधररसाङ्गदैर्बसुमतीपतिं संयुतम् ।

वरोरु रचयत्करं सुरगजं प्रकस (?) प्रिये ॥

नताङ्गि सततं यथा प्रचलितामलामध्वजम् ।

भवेच्च पृथिवी पदैर्ललितकोमलैर्वाचकैः ॥ ३६ ॥

द्विजगणरवं रत्ने कर्णेस्तथाप्यपरो मणिः ।

रवमणि पुनर्भावो बाले तथा विनतासुतः ॥

भवति हरिणीवृत्तं भद्रे सदा ललिताक्षरम् ।

बुधजनकृतं नित्यं श्रव्यं मृगाङ्गनिभानने ॥ ३७ ॥

द्विजगणरत्नभावचमरं च शशाङ्कमुखि ।

सरसपताकभावविलसत्कटकं च भवेत् ॥

सुतनु विचित्रबन्धरचितं करपल्लवकम् ।

मुनिजनसंस्तुतं प्रियतमे किल नर्कुटकम् ॥ ३८ ॥

पूर्वं माणिक्यं सुतनु कटकं रत्नमेकं सकर्णम् ।

भावं स्वप्नश्चः (सस्पृशं?) ललितगमने काव्यबन्धप्रयोगे ॥

कुर्यात्स्वाकारं सुतनु नियतं हस्तमेकं वरोरु ।

ताक्ष्यं मञ्जीरं सुरपतिगजं कीर्तिता चन्द्रलेखा ॥ ३९ ॥

द्वे रत्ने चरणं मृगाक्षि रसनायुक्तं च गन्धं पुनः ।

केयूरं सरसं ध्वजं च विमलं यस्मिन्सदा वीक्षसे ॥

हारं निर्मलपद्मरागसाहितं देवेश्वरस्य द्विपम् ।

तद्विद्यात्सपताकबन्धसुभगं शार्दूलचिक्रीडितम् ॥ ४० ॥

मुखे रूपं चैकं मणिरपि भवेत्कर्णरत्ने नियुक्ते ।

ततो मञ्जीरं चेद्रसनियमितं शब्दरूपे पुनर्द्वौ ॥

सुरेन्द्रेभ्यं मत्तं प्रियसखि ततो वीक्षसे सत्पताकम् ।

सुवर्णं मुक्ताढ्यं विरमानियतं चन्द्रकान्तेति गीता ॥ ४१ ॥

आदौ कर्णद्वयं स्यात्सुतनु ललितं वीक्षसे रूपरत्ने ।

मञ्जीरं शब्दयुक्तं रसनियमितं रूपयुक्तं वरोरु ॥

तस्मादैरावणं च ध्वजमपि तथा वैनतेयं सरत्नम् ।

एतद्विद्याहुणाढ्ये बुधजनकृतं सुप्रभानाम वृत्तम् ॥ ४२ ॥

आदौ कर्णौ तु कान्ते रवमणिसहितं माणिक्यमपरम् ।

भावस्पर्शस्वरूपं करमपि हि तथा मञ्जीरमतुलम् ॥

तस्मात्कुर्यात्तु मुक्तं शशिमुखि पटहं रत्नं च निधने ।

एतद्वृत्तस्वरूपं बुधजनदयितं ख्यातं परमकम् ॥ ४३ ॥



मुक्तादिरत्नसहितौ पयोधरकरौ तथैव सुभगे ।  
 माणिक्यरूपचरणं ध्वजं च सदृसा निवेश्य सरवम् ॥  
 ग्रैवेयकं नियमितं वरोरु रचयेत्सदा सपटहम् ।  
 अन्ते च नूपुरयुतं शशाङ्कवदने शशाङ्कचरितम् ॥ ४४ ॥  
 मुक्तायुग्मं सरत्नं मुकुटमपि भवेद्वैजयन्ती सहारा ।  
 स्पर्शं रूपं सभावं सुतनु करतलं वीक्षसे पङ्कजाक्षि ॥  
 नागानां चाप्यभिन्नं पुनरपि कटकं रूपकर्णैकयोगि ।  
 पादे तन्वाङ्गि यस्याः प्रचरति सुभगे स्नग्धराणाम वृत्तम् ॥ ४५ ॥  
 चामररूपयुग्मकटकं शशाङ्कवदने ध्वजं च सरवम् ।  
 शब्दविभूषितं च नृपतिं समीक्ष्य दयिते पुनः सकटकम् ॥  
 स्थापय शब्दभावचमरं च शब्दसहितं मार्णि च विमलम् ।  
 पद्मगयुक्तमन्तचरितं वरोरु सुभगे विशुद्धचरितम् ॥ ४६ ॥  
 द्विजगणरत्नरूपचमरं शशाङ्कवदने विमलश्च रसः ।  
 नरपतिरत्नयुक्तपटहो मृगाक्षि सुभगे यदि वै परतः ॥  
 पुनरपि मेखलात्र पतिता नताङ्गि विरमे करपल्लवकौ ।  
 कविवरपद्मगेन्द्ररचिता सदा प्रियतमे हयलीलाङ्गी ॥ ४७ ॥  
 चामरभावौ सललितगमने रत्नमतः शशिमुखि चरणश्च ।  
 शब्दसमेतां रसरवसहितौ द्वारमणी वरतनु कुलभद्रे ॥  
 भामिनि हस्तं पुनरपि दयिते विप्रकरं यदि भवति समेतम् ।  
 तस्य तु रत्नं पुनरपि ललितं वृत्तमिदं वरतनु किल तन्वा ॥ ४८ ॥  
 चामररूपे शब्दसमेते पुनरपि वरतनु सललितचमरम् ।  
 पश्यसि बाले रत्नमतो वै वरतनु शशिमुखि सुमधुरकटकम् ॥  
 रूपसमुक्तं वै ध्वजरत्नं भवति (हि) मृदुघनविपुलकुचयुगे ।  
 क्रौञ्चपदी वै त्रिद्विजयुक्ता विरचितकरतलनियमितविरमा ॥ ४९ ॥  
 आदौ बाले मुक्तायुग्मं विकसितकुबलयनयने भवेत्तु सचामरम् ।  
 पश्चात्कर्णौ मुग्धे तस्मात् समुकुटसरवसपटहैस्तथाप्यपरो रसः ॥  
 स्पर्शं भावं रत्नं दत्वा वरतनु शशिमुखि सुभगे मया तव कथ्यते ।  
 मुग्धे भूयुक्तं (हस्तं) पुनरपि नरपतिकटकं भुजगविजृम्भितम् ॥ ५० ॥  
 इति वृत्तजातिसमुच्चये कृतशिष्टशिष्टः पञ्चमो नियमः ।

## VI.

जे पिंगलेण भणिआ वासुडमंडव्वछंदआरोहिं ।  
 ततो थोवं वोच्छे छाओअरि छप्पआरोवि ॥ १ ॥

[ ये पिङ्गलेन भणिता वासुकिमाण्डव्यछन्दस्काराभ्याम् ।  
 ततः स्तोत्रं वक्ष्ये शातोदरि षट्प्रकारानपि ॥ १ ॥ ]  
 पत्थारे जे सव्वे णट्ठुद्विष्टं तहा अ लहुकिरिअं ।  
 संखं अद्दाणं विअ छाओअरि तं फुडं भणिमो ॥ २ ॥  
 [ प्रस्तारा ये सर्व्वे नद्योद्विष्टं तथा च लघुक्रियाम् ।  
 संख्यामध्वानमिव शातोदरि तत्स्फुटं भणामः ॥ २ ॥ ]  
 उत्ताइणं मज्झे वित्ता उण थोवआ मए भणिआ ।  
 जुत्तीए पत्थारे छाओअरि तुज्झ वोच्छामि ॥ ३ ॥  
 [ उक्तादीनां मध्ये वृत्तानि पुनः स्तोकानि मया भणितानि ।  
 युक्त्या प्रस्तारान् शातोदरि तव वक्ष्यामि ॥ ३ ॥ ]  
 सूर्इमेरुडाआसमुद्दिववरीअजलहिपाआला ।  
 तह संवलिपत्थारो सहिओ विवरीयसंवलिणा ॥ ४ ॥  
 [ सूची-मेरु-पताका-समुद्र-विपरीतजलधि-पातालाः ।  
 तथा शाल्मलिप्रस्तारः सहितो विपरीतशाल्मलिना ॥ ४ ॥ ]  
 पमुहंते एक्केकं तह विअ मज्झंमि एक्कमब्भहिअं ।  
 पमुहाओ आरहिअ वहुंते सव्वअंकाइं ॥ ५ ॥  
 [ प्रमुखेन्ते एकमेकं तथैव मध्ये एकमभ्यधिकम् ।  
 प्रमुखादारभ्य वर्द्धन्ते सर्वाङ्काः ॥ ५ ॥ ]  
 इक्केकेण भइज्जइअंते उवरिठ्ठिओ(अं) तहा चेअ ।  
 परिवाडीए मुंचह एक्केकं सूइपत्थारे ॥ ६ ॥  
 [ एकैकेन भिद्यन्ते उपरिस्थितं तथा चैव ।  
 परिपाठ्या मुञ्चत एकैकं सूचिप्रस्तारे ॥ ६ ॥ ]  
 तं पिडिज्जउ निउणं जाव अ वीओवि आगओ ठाणो ।  
 पत्थारपाअगणणा लहुकिरिआ लंभए संखा ॥ ७ ॥  
 [ तत्पिण्ड्यतां निपुणं यावद्वितीयमप्यागतं स्थानम् ।  
 प्रस्तारपातगणना लघुक्रिया लभ्यते संख्या ॥ ७ ॥ ]  
 इह कोठुआण दोणहं वहुइ हेठ्ठुठ्ठिअं कमेणेअ ।  
 पमुहंते एक्केकं तदो अ दोतिणिचत्तारि ॥ ८ ॥  
 [ इह कोष्ठकयोर्द्वयोर्वर्द्धतेऽधःस्थितं क्रमेणैव ।  
 प्रमुखेन्ते एकैकं ततश्च द्वे त्रीणि चत्वारि ॥ ८ ॥ ]  
 उअरिठ्ठिअअंकेण वहुइ दिठ्ठिअं कमेणेअ ।  
 मेरुम्मि दोइ गणणा सूर्इए एस अणुहरइ ॥ ९ ॥

[ उपरिस्थिताङ्केन वर्धतेऽधःस्थितं क्रमेणैव ।  
 मेरौ भवति गणना सूच्या एष अनुसरति ॥ ९ ॥ ]  
 सागरवर्णे अंका दोष्चिअ गरुआ अ मज्झिमहाणे ।  
 समरे उण एक्कोच्चिअ मेरुम्मि तहेव सूईए ॥ १० ॥  
 [ सागरवर्णे अङ्कौ द्वावेव गुरू च मध्यमस्थानयोः ।  
 समरे पुनरेक एव मेरौ तथैव सूच्याम् ॥ १० ॥ ]  
 मणिरवमालाकारो विउणेविउणेहि वट्ठिओ कमसो ।  
 रइअव्वो पत्थारो णिहणद्धमणीरवधो य ॥ ११ ॥  
 [ मणिरवमालाकारो द्विगुणद्विगुणैर्वर्द्धितः क्रमशः ।  
 रचितव्यः प्रस्तारो निघनार्धमणी रवार्धश्च ॥ ११ ॥ ]  
 बीअद्वेसु कहिंचिअ दिज्जइ फरिसोवि अंतिमो छउए ।  
 तेणेअं पत्थारे वित्ताणं कीरए गणणा ॥ १२ ॥  
 [ द्वितीयाधेषु कुत्रचित् दीयते स्पर्शोप्यन्तिमः शाते ।  
 तेनेयं प्रस्तारे वृत्तानां क्रियते गणना ॥ १२ ॥ ]  
 रअणाणि जहिच्छाए ठविऊ मुद्धे ठवेह पत्थारं ।  
 ताव अ पिंडेअ फुडं फरिसा सव्वे ठिआ जाव ॥ १३ ॥  
 [ रत्नानि यथेच्छं स्थापयित्वा मुग्धे स्थापय प्रस्तारम् ।  
 तावच्च पिण्डय स्फुटं स्पर्शाः सर्वे स्थिता यावत् ॥ १३ ॥ ]  
 पढमचमरस्स हिठ्ठे फरिसो, पुरओ जहाकमेणेअ ।  
 मग्गे जे परिसिठ्ठा कडअहिं तेहिं पूरेहि ॥ १४ ॥  
 [ प्रथमचमरस्याधः स्पर्शः, पुरतो यथाक्रमेणैव ।  
 मार्गतो ये परिशिष्टाः कटकैस्तान्पूरय ॥ १४ ॥ ]  
 एकम्मिवि पत्थारे पत्थारा बहुअरा विणिहिठ्ठा ।  
 मग्गट्ठिआ तहाविअ छाओअरि तुज्झ वोच्छामि ॥ १५ ॥  
 [ एकस्मिन्नपि प्रस्तारे प्रस्तारा बहुतरा विनिर्दिष्टाः ।  
 मार्गस्थितास्तथापि च शातोदरि तव वक्ष्यामि ॥ १५ ॥ ]  
 अठ्ठक्खरपत्थारे उत्ताईओ हुअंति सव्वे अ ।  
 विहईछंदमि तहा पत्थारो नवविहो होइ ॥ १६ ॥  
 [ अष्टाक्षरप्रस्तारे उक्तादयो भवन्ति सर्वा एव ।  
 बृहतीछन्दसि तथा प्रस्तारो नवविधो भवति ॥ १६ ॥ ]  
 एए सव्वे छंदा उक्किइछंदमि होन्ति पत्थारे ।  
 मइ भणिआ जुत्तीए लक्खिअसु तं पअत्तेण १ ॥ १७ ॥

[ एतानि सर्वाणि छन्दास्युत्कृतिछन्दसि भवन्ति प्रस्तारे ।  
 मया भणितानि युक्त्या लक्ष्य त्वं प्रयत्नेन ॥ १७ ॥ ]  
 एसोच्चिअ पत्थारो मत्तावित्ताण साहिओ किंतु ।  
 मत्ता जत्थ ण पूरइ फरिसं पढमं तहि देहि ॥ १८ ॥  
 [ एष एव प्रस्तारो मात्रावृत्तानां साधितः किन्तु ।  
 मात्रा यत्र न पूर्वते स्पर्शे प्रथमं तत्र देहि ॥ १८ ॥ ]  
 गाहाविसमगणाणं हेहा अंतचमरस्स दे छउए ।  
 मत्तापूरणफरिसं मज्झगअं पढमभणिअं पि ॥ १९ ॥  
 [ गाथाविषमगणानामधोन्तचमरस्य देहि शाते ।  
 मात्रापूरणस्पर्शे मध्यगतं प्रथमभणितमपि ॥ १९ ॥ ]  
 एवं णरिंदरहिए विसमगणे कुणह गाहाण ।  
 पढमलहू पत्थारो ठविअव्वो विसममत्ताण ॥ २० ॥  
 [ एवं नरेन्द्ररहितान्विषमगणान्कुरुत गाथानाम् ।  
 प्रथमलघुः श्रुतारः स्थापयितव्यो विषममात्राणाम् ॥ २० ॥ ]  
 पढमरवाहो चमरं उअरि अ पुरओ जहाकमेणं पि ।  
 मग्गहिआवि फरिसा विवरीअं जाण सलिलणिहिम् ॥ २१ ॥  
 [ प्रथमरवाधश्चमरं उपरि च पुरतो यथाक्रमेणापि ।  
 मार्गस्थिता अपि स्पर्शा विपरीतं जानीहि सलिलनिधिम् ॥ २१ ॥ ]  
 संखं ठवेह पढमं पाअंकेणावि गुणह तं हेठ्ठे ।  
 तस्सवि अद्धं धेत्तुं तिहि ठाणेहिं विभज्जेज्ज ॥ २२ ॥  
 [ संख्यां स्थापय प्रथमं पादाङ्केनापि गुणय तामधः ।  
 तस्याप्यर्थं गृहीत्वा त्रिषु स्थानेषु विभज्यताम् ॥ २२ ॥ ]  
 एए पंच पएसा मज्झिमअं तिउणअं करेज्जेह ।  
 संखा वण्णा मत्ता लहुगुरुआ होन्ति पाआले ॥ २३ ॥  
 [ एते पञ्च प्रदेशा मध्यमाल्लिगुणः कर्तव्य इह ।  
 संख्या वर्णा मात्रा लघवो गुरुवो भवन्ति पाताले ॥ २३ ॥ ]  
 ठविऊण तिणिं तीस अ सत्तावीस अ क्रमेण एएण ।  
 वट्ठंति दोणिं एक अ ल्हसइ अ एकं क्रमेणेअ ॥ २४ ॥  
 [ स्थापयित्वा त्रीणि त्रिंशच्च सप्तविंशतिं च क्रमेणैतेन ।  
 वर्द्धन्ते द्वावेकश्च हसते चैकः क्रमेणैव ॥ २४ ॥ ]  
 दोवट्ठि इक्कहाणी एक्केकं वट्ठए तहा मज्झे ।  
 ताव समप्पइ एअं दोच्चिअ णिहणे ठिआ जाव ॥ २५ ॥

[ द्विष्टद्विरेकहानिरेकैकं वर्द्धते तथा मध्ये ।  
 तावत्समर्प्यते एतद्वावेव निधने स्थितौ यावत् ॥ २५ ॥ ]  
 छव्वीसं गाहाणं पत्थारो संवली मए भणिओ ।  
 इअ संवलिपत्थारो मत्तावित्ताण काअव्वो ॥ २६ ॥  
 [ षड्विंशतेर्गाथानां प्रस्तारः शात्मली मया भणितः ।  
 इति शात्मलिप्रस्तारो मात्रावृत्तानां कर्तव्यः ॥ २६ ॥ ]  
 लहुआणं वण्णाणं आणअणे तहविअ गुरुणं ।  
 तीपण्णासं पंचावण्णे दोच्चिअ क्रमेण ठविऊण ॥ २७ ॥  
 [ लघूनां वर्णानामानयने तथैव गुरुणाम् ।  
 त्रिपञ्चाशत्पञ्चपञ्चाशत् द्वौ चैव क्रमेण स्थापयित्वा ॥ २७ ॥ ]  
 दोहाणि एकवट्ठी एकेकं हीरए तहा मञ्जे ।  
 विवरीअसंवलीए होइ विहाणं इमं छउए ॥ २८ ॥  
 [ द्विहानिरेकवृद्धिरेकैकं द्वियते तथा मध्ये ।  
 विपरीतशात्मलेर्भवति विधानमिदं शाते ॥ २८ ॥ ]  
 एत्तिअमेत्ते अंके कअरो वित्तित्ति णठ्ठअं होइ ।  
 एअं जाणह वित्तं कअम्मि ठाणम्मि उद्दिठ्ठं ॥ २९ ॥  
 [ एतावन्मात्रेऽङ्के कतरवृत्तामिति नष्टकं भवति ।  
 एतज्जानीहि वृत्तं कतमे स्थाने (इति) उद्दिष्टम् ॥ २९ ॥ ]  
 विसमंकेसु अ चमरं समेसु फरिसं ठवेह वित्ताणं ।  
 अद्धदं ओसकइ णठ्ठंके सव्वकडआइ ॥ ३० ॥  
 [ विषमाङ्केषु च चमरं समेषु स्पर्शं स्थापय वृत्तानाम् ।  
 अर्धमर्धमध्वक्ते नष्टाङ्के सर्वकटकानि ॥ ३० ॥ ]  
 जत्थ अ ण देइ भाअं एकं दाऊण तत्थ पिंढेह ।  
 भाए दिण्णे अ फुडं मयच्छि णठ्ठं विआणेहि ॥ ३१ ॥  
 [ यत्र च न ददाति भागमेकं दत्त्वा तत्र पिण्डय ।  
 भागे दत्ते च स्फुटं मृगाक्षि नष्टं विजानीहि ॥ ३१ ॥ ]  
 अद्धदं ओसकइ बहुसो बाहाइ जाव अ समत्तं ।  
 जं णिहणे तं वित्तं णठ्ठंमि अ पञ्चअं एयं ॥ ३२ ॥  
 [ अर्धमर्धमध्वक्ते बहुशो भागाद्यावच्च समाप्तम् ।  
 यन्निधने तद्वृत्तं नष्टे च प्रत्ययः एषः ॥ ३२ ॥ ]  
 अतं फरिसं धेत्तुं विउणा विउणेसु सुअणु वण्णेसु ।  
 एकेकं चमरेसुं मुंचह उद्दिष्टए छउए ॥ ३३ ॥

[ अन्तिमं स्पर्शं गृहीत्वा द्विगुणद्विगुणेषु सुतनु वर्णेषु ।  
एकमेकं चमरेषु मुञ्चोद्दिष्टे शाते ॥ ३३ ॥ ]

एआइ पिण्डणाए जं अंकं होइ अंतिमं मुद्धे ।  
तं कहिअब्बं वित्तं उद्दिष्टे पच्चअं एयं ॥ ३४ ॥

[ एतया पिण्डनया योऽङ्को भवत्यन्तिमो मुग्धे ।  
तत्कथितव्यं वृत्तमुद्दिष्टे प्रत्यय एषः ॥ ३४ ॥ ]

जे पढमट्ठा वण्णा मत्तावित्ताण णिअमिआ होंति ।  
ते दिज्जंते णट्ठे; उद्दिष्टे पुंसह तेअ ॥ ३५ ॥

[ ये प्रथमस्था वर्णा मात्रावृत्तानां नियमिता भवन्ति ।  
ते दीयन्ते नष्टे; उद्दिष्टे प्रोञ्छ तानेव ॥ ३५ ॥ ]

मत्तावित्ताण सआ पुच्छिज्जन्तो अ वण्णपरिमाणं ।  
पुट्ठाउ पुंसह एक्कं मूलं दाऊण जाणेज्ज ॥ ३६ ॥

[ मात्रावृत्तानां सदा पृच्छ्यमानश्च वर्णपरिमाणम् ।  
पृष्टात्प्रोच्छैकं मूलं दत्त्वा जानीयात् ॥ ३६ ॥ ]

काऊण वण्णगणणं एक्कं दाऊण पुंसह मूलमपि ।  
जं सेसं तं जाणहं मत्तावित्ताण उद्दिष्टं ॥ ३७ ॥

[ कृत्वा वर्णगणनामेकं दत्त्वा प्रोञ्छ मूलमपि ।  
यच्छेषं तजानीहि मात्रावृत्तानामुद्दिष्टम् ॥ ३७ ॥ ]

सविअप्पउणं काऊण मुंच हेट्ठाउ अंसअं सेसं ।  
पडिलोमं उद्दिष्टे पुरओ णट्ठं विआणेहि ॥ ३८ ॥

[ स्वविकल्पगुणं कृत्वा मुञ्चाधस्तनमंशं शेषम् ।  
प्रतिलोममुद्दिष्टे पुरतो नष्टं विजानीहि ॥ ३८ ॥ ]

सविअप्पेणुवुत्ते मुद्धे रासिमि अंतिमं कुणह ।  
सेसे सरूवअं चिअ लद्धे सेसे गणं देहि ॥ ३९ ॥

[ स्वविकल्पेनादृक्ते शुद्धे राशावन्तिमं कुरु ।  
शेषे स्वरूपमेव लब्धे शेषे गणं देहि ॥ ३९ ॥ ]

वित्ते जित्तिअसंखा ठविऊण ठवेह वित्तपाअंकं ।

एएहिं अ गुणिएहिं अद्धेण हुअंति गुरुलहुआ ॥ ४० ॥

[ वृत्ते यावती संख्या (तां) स्थापयित्वा स्थापय वृत्तपादाङ्कम् ।

एताभ्यां गुणिताभ्यामर्थेन भवन्ति गुरुलघवः ॥ ४० ॥ ]

वित्ताण वण्णगणणे मत्ताओ हुअंति जाओ अहिआओ ।

ते गरुआ सेसा उण लहुआ सव्वासु जाईसु ॥ ४१ ॥



[ वृत्तानां वर्णगणने मात्रा भवन्ति या अधिकाः ।  
 ते गुरवः शेषाः पुनर्लघवः सर्वासु जातिषु ॥ ४१ ॥ ]  
 अन्तिमवर्णे विउणं वर्णे वर्णे अ विउणअं कुणह ।  
 पायक्खरपरिमाणं संखाए एस णिहेसो ॥ ४२ ॥  
 [अन्तिमवर्णे द्विगुणं वर्णे वर्णे च द्विगुणं कुरुत ।  
 पादाक्षरपरिमाणं संख्याया एष निर्देशः ॥ ४२ ॥ ]  
 एक्कवक्खरम्मि दुच्चिअ विउणा विउणा य सेसवण्णेषु ।  
 पत्थरिअवं छउए जावं ते होति छवीसा ॥ ४३ ॥  
 [ एकाक्षरे द्वावेव द्विगुणा द्विगुणाश्च शेषवर्णेषु ।  
 प्रस्तरितव्यं शाते यावत्ते भवन्ति षड्विंशतिः ॥ ४३ ॥ ]  
 चउसट्ठी अठ्ठसत्था अठ्ठसहस्सेगसत्तरी लख्या ।  
 सुन्दरि छक्कोडीओ उक्किइछंदम्मि संखाई ॥ ४४ ॥  
 [ चतुःषष्टिरष्टशतान्यष्टसहस्राण्येकसप्ततिर्लक्षाः ।  
 सुन्दरि षट्कोट्य उत्कृतिछन्दसि संख्यायाः ॥ ४४ ॥ ]  
 एवं च वर्णवित्ते मत्तावित्ताण अन्नहा होइ ।  
 दो दो पुव्वविअप्पे जा मेलविऊण जायए संखा ।  
 सा उत्तरमत्ताणं संखाए एस निहेसो ॥ ४५ ॥  
 [ एवं च वर्णवृत्ते मात्रावृत्तानामन्यथा भवति ।  
 द्वौ द्वौ पूर्वविकल्पौ या मेलयित्वा जायते संख्या ।  
 सा उत्तरमात्राणां संख्याया एष निर्देशः ॥ ४५ ॥ ]  
 गाहाण समा भेआ खंधअपमुहाण विसमआ होति ।  
 विवरीयच्चिअ लहुआ संवलिपत्थारणिहिट्ठा ॥ ४६ ॥  
 [ गाथानां समा भेदाः स्कन्धकप्रमुखानां विषमा भवन्ति ।  
 विपरीता एव लघवः शास्त्रमलिप्रस्तारनिर्दिष्टाः ॥ ४६ ॥ ]  
 गाहाणं जाईओ सुन्दरि भणिआओ जइवि छवीसा ।  
 जलणिहिपत्थारे उण अण्णाच्चिअ पिण्डणा होइ ॥ ४७ ॥  
 [ गाथानां जातयः सुन्दरि भणिता यद्यपि षड्विंशतिः ।  
 जलनिधिप्रस्तारे पुनरन्यैव पिण्डना भवति ॥ ४७ ॥ ]  
 सव्वे पुव्वविअप्पा गुणिऊणं उत्तराण दाअव्वा ।  
 गाहासंखाणअणं इअ पुव्वाणं अ णिहिट्ठं ॥ ४८ ॥  
 [ सर्वे पूर्वविकल्पा गुणयित्वोत्तरेषां दातव्याः ।  
 गाथासंख्यानयनमिति पूर्वेषां च निर्दिष्टम् ॥ ४८ ॥ ]

अष्टेव अ कोडीओ परओ एकूणवीसलक्खाइं ।  
 बीससहस्पाइं तद्वा गाहाणं एत्तिआ संखा ॥ ४९ ॥  
 [ अष्टेव च कोट्यः परत एकोनविंशतिर्लक्षाः ।  
 विंशतिसहस्राणि तथा गाथानामियती संख्या ॥ ४९ ॥ ]  
 वइआलिअसमपाए मग्गट्टिअचलणमाणमुव्वससु ।  
 तइअचउत्थेसु सआ ठाणेसु णिअविअप्पगुणिएसु ॥ ५० ॥  
 [ वंतालीयसमपादे मार्गस्थितचरणमानमुन्मार्जय ।  
 तृतीयचतुर्थयोः सदा स्थानयोर्निजविकल्पगुणितयोः ॥ ५० ॥ ]  
 दुवईगणसव्वाणं मत्ताअडिलाण तद् अ सम्माणं ।  
 लहुगणणं विअ विहदुह छाओअरि सीसआणं च ॥ ५१ ॥  
 [ द्विपदीगण × × × मात्राडिलानां तथा च साम्यानाम् ।  
 लहुगणनमिव × × × × शातोदरि शीर्षकाणां च ॥ ५१ ॥ ]  
 चउअंगुलो अ रामो तिहिं रामेहिं विआणसु विअत्थिम् ।  
 दोणि विअत्था हत्थो चउहत्थो धणुहरो होइ ॥ ५२ ॥  
 [ चतुरङ्गुलश्च रामस्त्रिभी रामैर्विजानीहि वितस्तिम् ।  
 द्वौ वितस्ती हस्तश्चतुर्हस्तो धनुर्धरो भवति ॥ ५२ ॥ ]  
 धणुअरदुईसहस्सा मअच्छि कोसस्स होइ परिमाणम् ।  
 कोसा अट्ठ तहच्चिअ जोइणसंखा विणिहिट्ठा ॥ ५३ ॥  
 [ धनुर्धरद्विसहस्रं मृगाक्षि कोशस्य भवति परिमाणम् ।  
 कोशा अष्टौ तथैव योजनसंख्या विनिर्दिष्टा ॥ ५३ ॥ ]  
 एकंगुलो अ संठइ चमरो फरिसोवि अंगुलं चेअ ।  
 चमरफरिसांतराले तद् एकं अंगुलं होइ ॥ ५४ ॥  
 [ एकाङ्गुलश्च संतिष्ठते चमरः स्पर्शोप्यङ्गुलं चैव ।  
 चमरस्पर्शान्तराले तथैकमङ्गुलं भवति ॥ ५४ ॥ ]  
 अट्ठक्खरस्स हत्थो तिणिण धणू अंगुलं तअं रामो ।  
 विहई कआ(तओ)वि विउणा तत्तो विउणा वि पंसित्ति ॥ ५५ ॥  
 [ अश्वक्षरस्य हस्तस्त्रीणि ( पञ्च ? ) धनूंष्यङ्गुलत्रयं रामः ।  
 बृहती ततोपि द्विगुणा ततो द्विगुणापि पङ्क्तिरिति ॥ ५५ ॥ ]  
 एक्केकंमि अ पुंसह रूअं विउणीकअंमि रासिमि ।  
 एवं विउणाविउणं पिंडिज्जह जाव छव्वीसं ॥ ५६ ॥  
 [ एकैकस्मिन्नपमार्जय रूपं द्विगुणीकृते राशौ ।  
 एवं द्विगुणं द्विगुणं पिण्ड्यतां यावच्छङ्खितः ॥ ५६ ॥ ]

जोइणसत्तासीई तिणि अ कोसा धणूण इक्कहिंयं ।

सअमुक्किईअ हत्थो रामो इक्को अ अंगुला तिणि ॥ ५७ ॥

[ योजनानि सप्ताशीतिस्त्रयश्च क्रोशा धनुषामेकाधिकम् ।

शतमुत्कृतेर्हस्तो राम एकश्चाङ्गुलानि त्रीणि ॥ ५७ ॥ ]

एक्कक्खरपत्थारे मअच्छि एक्को अ होइ फरिसो अ ।

बेअक्खरपत्थारे बेआ फरिसा विणिदिठ्ठा ॥ ५८ ॥

[ एकाक्षरप्रस्तारे मृगाक्षि एकश्च भवति स्पर्शश्च ।

द्वयक्षरप्रस्तारे द्वौ स्पर्शौ विनिर्दिष्टौ ॥ ५८ ॥ ]

तीहि तो विउणाउवड्डिया तद्वा चेअ । (?)

चउवण्णसु वि विउणा वितेतममवआ (?) ॥ ५९ ॥

एवं विउणाउच्चिअ बेचउहिं वड्डिआ भुणेअव्वा ।

छहुक्किरिअत्ति अ जावअ उक्किइछंदं समत्तंसि ॥ ६० ॥

[ एवं द्विगुणा एव द्विचतुर्भिर्वर्धिता ज्ञातव्या ।

लघुक्रियेति च यावदुत्कृतिछन्दसि समाप्ता सा ॥ ६० ॥ ]

इअ कइसिठ्ठवित्तजाईसमुच्चए छट्ठो णिअमो संमत्तो । कइसिठ्ठं छंदं समत्तं ॥

## NOTES.

## CHAPTER V.

N.B.—I merely give the Akṣaraganas in a Pāda of every metre in Ch. V. for the sake of brevity. In the definitions, the names of ornaments are used to signify a long letter. Short letters are meant by Rava, Rūpa, Śabda and Sparsā. for the rest, see the glossary in my last article (JBBRAS., New Series, vol. V., p. 77) and the text I. 17-20; 27-29.

- (1) गौ. S. (2) नौ. SS. (3) नारी:—म. (4) मृगवधू:—न, ग. (5) अक्षरपङ्क्ति:—म, ग, ग. (6) तनुमध्या:—त, य. (7) मदलेखा:—म, स, ग., (8) हरिविलसितक:—न, न, ग. (9) विशुन्माला:—म, म, ग, ग. (10) श्यामा:—त, स, ग, ग. (11) वितान:—म, म, ग, ग. (12) माणवकक्रीडितक:—म, त, ल, ग. (13) मालिनी:—र, ज, ग, ग. (14) कुसुम:—न, न, ल, ग. (15) श्लोक:—In the uneven Pādas the seventh letter is short; the fifth is short and the sixth is long in all the four Pādas. Each Pāda has eight letters. (16) गुर्वी:—न, स, य. (17) त्वरितगति:—न, ज, न, ग. (18) चम्पकमाला:—म, म, स, ग. (19) इन्द्रवज्रा:—त, त, ज, ग, ग. (20) उपेन्द्रवज्रा:—ज, त, ज, ग, ग. (21) मिश्रा is made up of lines of both इन्द्रवज्रा and उपेन्द्रवज्रा. (22) शालिनी:—म, त, त, ग, ग. (23) भ्रमरविलसित:—म, म, न, ल, ग. (24) दोषक:—म, म, म, ग, ग. (25) स्वागता:—र, न, म, ग, ग. (26) वसन्तमञ्जरी:—ज, त, ज, र. (27) तोटक:—स, स, स, स. (28) द्रुतविलम्बित:—न, म, म, र. (29) मयूरपिच्छ:—म, न, ज, र, ग. (30) सदागति:—ज, म, स, ज, ग. (31) सिंहोन्नता:—त, म, ज, ज, ग, ग. (32) मालिनी:—न, न, म, य, य. (33) प्रमुदिता:—म, र, न, र, न, ग. (34) मन्दाक्रान्ता:—म, म, न, त, त, ग, ग. (35) शिखरिणी:—य, म, न, स, म, ल, ग. (36) पृथिवी:—ज, स, ज, स, य, ल, ग. (37) हरिणी:—न, स, म, र, स, ल, ग. (38) नर्कुटक:—न, ज, म, ज, ज, ल, ग. (39) चन्द्रलेखा:—म, त, न, य, य, य. (40) शार्दूलविक्रीडित:—म, स, ज, स, त, त, ग. (41) चन्द्रक्रान्ता:—य, म, न, स, र, र, ग. (42) सुप्रभा:—म, र, म, न, त, त, ग, ग. (43) वृत्त:—म, न, य, म, ल, ग. (44) शशाङ्कहरचित:—त, म, ज, म, ज, म, ल, ग. (45) स्रग्धरा:—म, र, म, न, य, य, य. (46) विशुद्धचरित:—म, र, न, र, न, र, न, ग. (47) हयलीलाङ्गी:—न, ज, म, ज, म, ज, ल, ग. (48) तन्वी:—म, त, न, स, म, म, न, य. (49) क्रौञ्चपदी:—म, म, स, म, न, न, न, न. (50) मुजङ्गवृज्ज्मित:—म, म, त, न, न, न, र, स, ल, ग.

Of these (10) श्यामा, (14) कुसुम, (16) गुर्वी, and (47) हयलीलाङ्गी are not found in हेमचन्द्र's छन्दोनुशासन, while (5) अक्षरपङ्क्ति, (11) वितान, (13) मालिनी, (18) चम्पकमाला, (21) मिश्रा or सैकत्रिपादा, (26) वसन्तमञ्जरी, (29) मयूरपिच्छ, (30) सदागति, (31) सिंहोन्नता, (33) प्रमुदिता, (38) नर्कुटक- (39) चन्द्रलेखा, (41) चन्द्रक्रान्ता, (42) सुप्रभा, (43) वृत्त and (46) विशुद्ध-चरित are found respectively under the following names:—(5) पङ्क्ति, (11) चित्रपदा, (13) सिंहलेखा, (18) रक्मवती, (21) उपजाति, (26) वंशस्थ, (29)

प्रहर्विणी, (30) रुचिरा, (31) वसन्ततिलक, (33) महिषी, (38) अविषय, (39) कुसुमिवलतावेष्टिता, (41) मेघविस्फूर्जिता, (42) चित्रमाला, (43) सुवदना and (46) मन्दक. As regards (18) चम्पकमाला, (26) वसन्तमञ्जरी, (31) सिंहोन्नता, (38) नर्कुटक, and (42) सुप्रभा, Hemachandra is aware of these names and mentions them.

## CHAPTER VI.

V. 2. After v. 2 the following two stanzas appear to have been read by the commentator; they merely enumerate the 26 Jātis:—

उत्ता तहातिउत्ता मज्झअसहिआ पइइसुपइडा ।  
 गायत्थुण्ही अणुहुभ विइई पंती तहा तिठू ॥ १ ॥  
 जगइअजगइसकरि तह अइसकरि य अट्ठि अइअट्ठी ।  
 धिइअइधिइकिइपकिइ आविसमभिउकिइसहिआ ॥ २ ॥

V. 7. प्रस्तारपातगणना i. e. finding out the number of Prastāras i. e. the Prastāras containing one or more short or long letters.

V. 10. “In the Meru or Sūcī of a metre with an odd number of letters in its Pāda (सागरवर्णे), the two middlemost sums will be the biggest while in that of a metre with an even number of letters in its Pāda (समरे), there will be only one biggest sum in the middle.”

V. 26-27. In the text, the lines occur in the following order (1) इअ संवलि० (2) छव्वीसं० (3) लहुआ० (4) तीपण्णासं०

V. 30 ‘नष्टाङ्के सति सर्वकटकानि सर्वगुरवः स्थाप्यन्ते । नष्टत्वमङ्कस्यैक-कप्रसि’ :—Com.

Vv. 35-37. The verses explain the Naṣṭa and Uddiṣṭa processes as regards the *letters* of a Mātrāvṛtta. The number of letters obtaining in the first permutation (Prathamasthā Varṇā) should be added in the case of Naṣṭa and subtracted in the case of Uddiṣṭa. This is further explained in the next two stanzas. When the *total number* of letters in a certain permutation of a Mātrāvṛtta—the serial number of which is given—is asked (i. e. is unknown or Naṣṭa), deduct 1 from the given *serial number* and add the number of letters obtaining in the first permutation (this is called Mūla in v. 36 which is the same as Prathamasthā

Varṇā in v. 35. The Mūla of a Gāthā, for example, is 30, see under Śālmali Prastāra). The resulting figure is the required number. In the same way, when the number of letters is given (i. e. Uddiṣṭa) and we are required to find out the *serial number* of the given permutation, we should add 1 to the number of letters and deduct the Mūla from it. The figure thus obtained is the serial number of the given permutation.

Vv. 38. 'स्वश्चासौ विकल्पः स्वविकल्पः तेन गुणनं स्वविकल्पगुणनं प्रत्येक-मंशकस्य यः स्वः आत्मीयभेदो विकल्प्यते यथा गाथायाः प्रथमस्य चत्वारोऽनंतरं-पञ्चेति । तेन प्रतिलोममधः प्रभृत्यन्वेषां विकल्पानां गुणनं कलनं संख्यानं कुर्यात् । कृत्वाचाधस्तस्यैवांशस्य येऽंशाः संभवन्ति तान्मुञ्च त्यज ।—Com. For details, cf. Hemacandra, Chandonuśāsana, p. 48b.

V. 39. cf. प्रत्येकमंशकस्य यः स्वविकल्पस्तेन तस्मिन्नष्टादुद्धृते शोधिते सति विलोकर्नायं यदि शुष्यति तदान्तिमं गणं सर्वलघुं देहि शेषे च  $\times \times$  सरूपमेव यथेकः शिष्यते तदा प्रथमं द्वौ चेतदान्तगुरुं तृतीये मध्यगुरुमादि गुरुं वा । किंच लब्धे शेषे एकैकादौ गणं देहि एकेनाधिकं भागहारिणं कुर्वित्यर्थः ।—Com. For further details and examples cf. Hemacandra, Chandonuśāsana p. 47b.

V. 40. संख्या is the total number of permutations of the metre. पादाङ्क is the number of letters in a line. By multiplying these two together and then dividing the multiplication by 2, we get the total number of either the short or the long letters in all the permutations of a metre taken together.

V. 41. In all Jāṭis, in order to know the number of short and long letters in a given permutation, we should count the letters in it and deduct them from the number of its Mātrās which of course is fixed. The remainder represents the number of long letters; the rest are short ones.

V. 45. The commentary on the first line of this stanza is missing.

V. 47. गाथानां समा भेदाः षड्विंशतिः स्कन्धकानां विषमा एकोनत्रिंशत् । लघवः पुनर्विपरीताः समानां विषमा विषमाणां च समा इत्यर्थः । एते च भेदा लघवश्च मया शास्त्रलिप्रस्तारे दर्शिताः ।—Com.

Vv. 48-49. Another way of finding out the Sāṅkhyā of a Gāthā is to multiply together the number of permutations of the



different Gaṇas in it. Thus the number of permutations of the first gaṇa of a Gāthā is 4; that of the second is 5; that of the third is 4 and so on. By multiplying all these together, we get 81920000 which is the total number of the permutations of a Gāthā.

V. 50 is composed by the commentator, though the first line is found in the text. Says the commentator :—अनया प्रक्रियया वैतालीयादीनामतिव्याप्तिर्नायातीत्यतोस्माभिर्गार्थेयं विरचिता । वैतालीयस्य प्रत्येकं द्विसात्रे द्विप्रभेदगुणिते समपादे द्वितीयचतुर्थादौ तृतीयचतुर्थगणस्थानयोः निजेनात्मीये विकल्पेन गुणितयोः सतोः मार्गस्थितचरणमानं पञ्चाशिविष्टपादसंख्यामुन्मार्जय शोधय ।

Vv. 51-55. The commentary on these stanzas is missing.

V. 56. The commentator says that he composed the first half of this stanza to avoid the अतिव्याप्ति. cf. एवं त्रिष्टुप्प्रभृतीनां द्विगुण-द्विगुणया पिण्डनया पिण्डय तावद्यावत्षड्विंशत्यक्षरोत्कृतिरागच्छति । अत्र सर्वत्रैव द्विगुणे सत्येकस्य लोपः कार्यः । इत्यतिव्याप्तिपरिहारायास्माभिर्गार्थार्थं निवेशितम् । एकैकस्मिन्नपमार्जय रूपं द्विगुणीकृते राशौ । अनेन गार्थार्थेन सर्वेषां अध्वयुक्तिर्घटते । एतदेवोक्तमन्यैर्यथा—द्वाभ्यां समहता संख्या रूपेणैकेन वर्जिता । छिन्नवृत्ताङ्गुलव्याप्ति-रध्वयोगः प्रकीर्तितः इति । cf. Hemacandra, p. 49b.

V. 57. On this verse, the commentary is as follows:—योजनानि सप्ताशीतिः द्वौ क्रौशौ धनुःशतमेकाधिकं हस्त एकः द्वौ रामौ उत्कृतिछन्दसः परिमाणम् । अयमप्यनार्थः पाठः । यद्वृत्ताङ्गुलद्विगुणया मूलसंख्याया एकोनन्यूनत्वात् अङ्गुलानां त्रयोदशकोट्यः द्वाचत्वारिंशल्लक्षाणि सप्तदशसहस्राणि सप्तशतानि सप्तविंशल्लक्षिकानि संभवन्ति । . . . . . तेनैवमियं गाथा पठनीया—जोअणसत्तासीई &c. From this it would seem that the original form of the Gāthā was somewhat as follows:—जोअणसत्तासीई दुणिण अ कोसा धणूण इक्काहियं । सअ; हत्थो दो रामा उक्किइच्छंदंमि परिमाणं ॥

Between v. 55 & v. 56 the following line is found in the text:—अंतो उअरेण विअ दंडलमेआ विणिहिट्ठा ।

Vv. 58-60. The commentator does not comment upon these stanzas. They give the total number of short letters occurring in the different permutations of each Varnavṛtta taken together beginning with Uktā and ending with Utkṛti. But why should they occur here ? Their proper place is after Vv. 40-41.

SOME PARALLELISMS IN INDO-ARYAN AND DRAVIDIAN  
WITH ESPECIAL REFERENCE TO MARATHI,  
GUJARATI AND KANARESE.

BY ALFRED MASTER, C.I.E., I.C.S.

(Continued from Vol. V, p. 140.)

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CHAPTER VIII.

VERBS.

§ 20. *The Present Tense.*

77. The types used by the three languages differ, M. & K. use the present participle with endings which in M. are a queer mixture of verbal personal and pronominal endings and in K. are merely the usual pronominal endings used to denote person in verbs. G. uses the Aorist with the verb to be. The compound Present is a feature of Old Western Rājasthānī<sup>80</sup> but is not recognised in the *Mughdārvabodhamuktika*.<sup>81</sup> It may be that Old Gujarati actually did not possess this form, as Dr. Bloch believes (§ 249 p. 249), but there is no reason to assume that the *Mughdā.* would have contained the idiom, if it was in use, or that Old Gujarati is not intimately associated with Old Western Rājasthānī. Together with this peculiar idiom G. possesses the forms present participle plus indicative of *hovum* become and the past tense of the verb 'to be.' Khansaheb and Sheth, § 217, quote *hum pīto hovum* I am drinking, *hum pīto hatō* I was drinking and I have met *hum pīto hoś* I may be drinking. Dr. Bloch (§ 249) states that the present tenses of all the languages of the eastern group are explained by a welding of the verb "to be" with the present participle. But this is not the only possible explanation and the eastern group may have possessed two alternative forms, one the Aorist plus auxiliary and the other the Present participle plus auxiliary like G.

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<sup>80</sup> Tessitori, I. A. 1915, p. 78.

<sup>81</sup> L. S. I. Guj. p. 360.

78. The K. form is modern, *i.e.*, dating from about 1600 A.D.<sup>82</sup> It is composed of the present participle with the verbal suffixes *-ene*, *-i*, *āne*, etc. The suffixes of the 3rd Persons have nominal endings (or pronominal which amounts to the same thing in K.) modified for gender. It is not settled whether these suffixes are remnants of the verb "to be," but they probably are. They are derived in that case from the substantive verb *ap-* > *ah*. The G. form of the Present has no inflexion for gender. The K. form inflects only for the 3rd Person singular and plural. This inflexion is strictly economical. It is unnecessary for a speaker to distinguish the gender of the person spoken to or his own gender, because it causes no confusion, if he does not. But it is necessary to distinguish the gender of persons or things spoken of. M. on the other pursues the differentiation of gender to its logical extreme, to the extent of pedantry.

79. K. has made several efforts to form a present indicative with a verbal noun (used as a participle) and the verb "to be." Besides the present participle, the past verbal participle was also used. This experiment must have been made before the verbal noun was definitely earmarked as a past participle. The form now survives as a remote future (*vide* § 22) *i.e.*, *māḍyenu* I may make, representing *māḍi-ahenu*.<sup>83</sup> *Māḍenu*, *i.e.*, *māḍa-ahenu* is an alternative. The two forms of the present in K. may both be parallel to the two modern I.-A. forms. That is to say, the form with the present participle is found in both and the G. form Aorist plus substantive verb may be in origin the absolutive (corresponding with the K. past verbal participle) plus the substantive verb. The phrase *karuṁ chuṁ*, in this case represents *kari chuṁ*, *kari* being afterwards made to assume a personal verbal ending to agree with *chuṁ* from analogy with the Aorist. The Oḍiya forms support this view. They are *karu acchi* I am doing, *kari acchi* I have done, *karu theli* I was doing, etc. The phrase *karu acchi* is contracted into *karuchi* and the conjugation then proceeds *karuchi*, *karucu*, *karuci*, *karācu karāco*, *karācanti*.

<sup>82</sup> Kittel Grammar, p. 40, 135.

<sup>83</sup> It is perhaps not a mere coincidence that the absolutive participle in G. ends in *-i*, *e.g.*, *kari* and in Hindustani is the verb-root *kar*.

Bengali has *karcci* said to be a contraction of *kariti-chi*, the present participle plus the substantive verb. The *Oḍiya* forms indicate the possibility of the G. perfect *karyo chum* being also a development of *kari chum* meaning 'I have made' (*vide* also § 23). These considerations suggest an interplay of I.-A. and Dr. forms adopted by I.-A. to meet the needs of Dravidian speakers and by Dr. to develop a language which was otherwise unable to express the finer shades of tense-meaning.

80. M. does not possess the absolute in *-i* and took a different course, concentrating on the present participle. Dr. Bloch (§ 248) considers the endings in M. to be mere additions of the pronoun to the present participle or due to a form more ancient than the present participle in *-tā*. The latter alternative seems preferable. The modern pronoun is declined to *tī tem*, *te tyā tīm* which do not correspond with the endings of the present tense *-toṁ -teṁ -tem*, *-tos -tes -tes*; *-to -te -tem* in the singular or to the purely verbal endings of the plural. It appears rather that the tense is a compromise between two forms—an absolute present participle, e.g., *padto* (cf. *kartā* in Hindustani, which is often used to express the present tense irrespective of gender, ungrammatical though it is) and the regular verbal endings *-eṁ*, *-es*, *-e*, *-ūṁ*, *-āṁ*, *-at*. These are the intransitive endings, but are, if we compare the Aorist endings of G., more ancient than the transitive *-iṁ*, *-is*, *-i*. The *anuvāra* of the neuter singular terminations is probably a later device, more literary than colloquial, as final *-eṁ* is even to-day often sounded as *-a*, although in view of existing colloquial forms such as *padtyāt* feminine plural of *padtāt*, it is not necessary to assume even this.

81. It is impossible without further information to explain why M. should have adopted the present participle without the substantive verb, but if the impulse be Dr. the substantive verb would not be needed.<sup>84</sup> In this case we should expect to find that the M. form is much older than the G. form of the present. The absence of the nasal in the present participle suggests also

<sup>84</sup> An early type of K. sentence appears to be substantive-noun plus verb-noun with personal inflection, e.g., *tande baruvavanu*, the father (is) the one-who-comes, just as *tande cikkavanu*, the father is small—or the father (is) the small-one.

Dr. influence as the nasal is found in Prakrit and Sanskrit, but not in K.

§ 21. *The Aorist.*

82. In M. and G. the Aorist is an extraordinarily comprehensive tense, which is used on occasion as a substitute for all finite moods and tenses. Grammatically, it is in M. classed as an Habitual Past and in G. as an Indefinite Indicative. Actually in M. it is used as an Habitual Past, a simple Past with a negative, a present relative or subjunctive and in poetry all the tenses of the indicative mood.<sup>85</sup> In G. it is used as a Present, Habitual Past, relative or subjunctive, (precative and optative included), imperative and in poetry all tenses of the indicative.<sup>86</sup> It appears to have been adopted to express ideas only distinguished later by different forms by a primitive people who could not grasp the variety of forms that already existed to express those distinctions in Aryan.

83. K. has no form of the kind; originally it appears to have used some variety of the verb-noun. The form used as an Aorist is not one incorporating the simple verb-stem like the I.-E. Aorist, but the present or future relative participle with the verbal personal endings, e.g., *koḍuvenu* from *koḍuwa* which means I give (in poetry), I habitually give and I shall give. This form which<sup>87</sup> does not contain the stump of the verb "to be," is much earlier than the form of the Present *koḍuttene* and may be the prototype of the M. Present. In this case it may be surmised that the I.-A. Aorist was first of all used as representing the Dr. verb-noun (employed in a flat sense for all tenses) and that when tense differences were introduced into Dr. (Query—owing to Prakrit literary influences) and revived (not on the Prakrit model) in I.-A., the use of the I.-A. Aorist was restricted, certain of the old senses surviving in poetry and in special phrases. And the fact that K. has

<sup>85</sup> See Nav. § 611. *to bāher nighe* He used to rally forth, *to jāinā*, he refused to go, *jiv jāi tom paryant* till you die.

<sup>86</sup> See Taylor § 140 and Khansaheb and Sheth § 218.

<sup>87</sup> Some of its forms are found as early as in 600, A.D. Kittel Gram. p. 143.

no corresponding formation indicates that this portion of its verbal construction was not imitated from Aryan grammar.

### § 22. *Future Simple.*

84. Just as K. possesses no special form for Aorist, it has none for the Future. Both its Futures are really Present tenses in origin. So *māḍuvenu* and *māḍyenu* I shall make. There is, however, parallelism in a side-meaning of the Future in M. G. & K. The Future has rather the sense of "may". In European languages it expresses intention or resolution. In the Indian languages it conveys a doubt. So in G. *tame karaśo* does not express a command "you shall do," but a polite request "kindly do" and in K. *māḍyenu* means "I may make" rather than "I shall make." The M. and G. forms are purely Aryan, but they do use alternatives which suggest a Dr. idiom. The periphrases ending in *-nār -nāro* with the auxiliary verb; in G. *-āno* and M. *avayācā, ayācā* are all reminiscent of the K. (and Dr.) use of an inflected verb-noun to represent a finite verb. There is very little difference in construction between G. *huṁ javāno chuṁ* I am about to go and *nānu baruvenu* I am to go. *Javāno* is an inflected form of the verb-noun *javum* and *jānār* is a future participle resembling in type *baruva*, a verb-noun used as a future or present participle.

The Sindi and Sinh. Futures formed by adding personal endings to the present participle (*vide* Bloch § 241, 243) are of a similar type.

### § 23. *The Past Tense.*

85. In M. the form of the Past Tense is participial like the Present.<sup>88</sup> The adjectival suffix *-lā -lī -leṁ*, etc., is added to the verb-stem and in certain simple verbs to the stem of the Prakrit past tense. G. adds the nominal or participial suffix *-o -ī -um*, etc., (or *-alo*, etc., which is rare except in a participial sense) to what is identical with the absolutive participle and in certain simple verbs to the stem of the Prakrit past tense. In M. the stem of some tenses of transitive verbs ends in *-ī* and is similar in form to the G. absolutive participle which does not exist in that form in M. Panjabi similarly adds the suffix *-ā*, etc., to a form identical

<sup>88</sup> See Bloch § 251, 252 for examples and discussion.



with that of its absolutive participle and Hindustani follows suit. The forms are as follows:—

M.	<i>mārṇem</i>	<i>mārilā</i>	( <i>phirṇem</i> <i>phiralā</i> )
	<i>gheṇem</i>	<i>ghetlā</i>	
G.	<i>karvum</i>	<i>karyo</i>	( <i>kari-o</i> )
		<i>karelo</i>	( <i>kari-alo</i> )
		<i>kīdho</i>	
P.	<i>likhnā</i>	<i>likhā</i>	( <i>likhī-ā.</i> )
	<i>baithnā</i>	<i>baithā</i>	
H.	<i>girnā.</i>	<i>girā</i>	( <i>gir-ā</i> )
	<i>karnā</i>	<i>kiryā.</i>	

The absolutive form in Hindustani is *gir* not *giri* and the stem *baith* in Panjabi and Hindustani is a past-tense stem comparable with M. *ghetlā* or G. *kīdho*, but substituted for the present by derivation from the past tense.

86. In K. the past verbal participle has the same form as the G. and Panjabi *-ī* forms. K. *mādi* G. *kari* Panj. *likhī*, and is the parent through the past relative participle of the past tense.<sup>89</sup> It has, however, survived only in the commonest verbs in the *-ī* form and is now 'regularly' almost identical with the past relative participle. The K. verbal participle is in origin a verb-noun; it changes its form slightly in juxtaposition with another verb-noun to express co-ordination, and is transformed by the addition of *-da* into a relative participle and thence into a past tense. So *heḷu* speak, past verbal participle *heḷi*, past relative participle *heḷida*, past tense 3rd person, sing., *heḷida* or *heḷidanu*, the other persons being appropriately inflected. The ending *-da* is considered to be the neuter pronoun "it." There is a close connection in Sanskrit between the Gerund or Indeclinable Participle and the Past Passive Participle. The suffixes *tvā -tya -ya* are used all in the same position as the suffix of the Past Passive Participle *-tā*. Further, the Indeclinable or Absolutive Participle is a verb-noun. In Mahārāṣṭrī we find *-ūṇa* M. *-ūn* as the commonest termination of the absolutive<sup>90</sup> and although it is uncommonly used in Prakrit to express the infinitive,

<sup>89</sup> Kittel Gram. p. 137.

<sup>90</sup> Pischel Gram. § 536.

it is so used and has presumably produced not only the M. -*ūn* but the termination -*ūn* for the second M. infinitive. Now both the -*lā* and the -*ā* forms of the I.-A. past tense appear to be derived from the Sanskrit -*tā*. The change of *d* to *l* corresponds to that of *ḍ* to *ḷ*<sup>91</sup> which is more common and is a Dravidian correspondence (see § 8). The change of *t* through *d* to zero is on the other hand an Indo-European tendency. In Dr. intervocalic unvoiced stops become voiced, but there the process ceases. There is reason therefore for the northern languages to prefer the *ā* form and for the border languages M. and Oḍiya to choose the -*lā* form of Past Tense. K. does not change *d* to *l* although the use of the two forms *noḍida* and *noḍalu* for the past negative with *illa* suggest an equivalence. K. does change *ḷ* to *ḍ* under Aryan influence, but apparently not *ḷ*. We may venture to suppose that the curious Sanskrit use of an absolutive participle was suggested by its use in spoken Sanskrit and was regularised to conform to Sanskrit grammar. The Prakrit forms on the other hand would be derived from the spoken Sanskrit and operate on somewhat different principles. They do not at any rate appear to be derived from exactly the same forms as written Sanskrit. It may equally be supposed that the Sanskrit absolutive is a purely Aryan development, and its form in -*tyā* has a definite history. But it expresses an idea which can be perfectly well expressed by other alternatives, it is not an Indo-European idiom and its other forms -*tya* and -*ya* have no clear origin. If the idiom is not found in Vedic Sanskrit, its introduction from Dravidian through a Sanskrit dialect could be approximately dated. The use of the Past Tense, in I.-A., which corresponds closely with the use of the Past Tense in Dravidian (K. being taken as the type) is consistent with the view above taken.

There are three main constructions, which according to the M. terminology are called *Kartari*, *Karmaṇi* and *Bhāve*.

(a) The *Kartari* construction.

87 The typical form of this is Subject, Object, Active verb "I goad the ox" and it is the normal type in Aryan and Dravidian for the present tense. It is the normal type also

<sup>91</sup> cf. Pischel Gram. § 240, 244.

in Aryan and Dravidian for the Past tense, but not in I-A. except as regards a few simple primitive verbs. Even these employ not a special form of the past tense, but the Past (passive) participle. Accordingly, in M. & G. we find about thirty verbs using this construction. They denote simple mental and physical processes such as learn, say, understand, remember, bear young, bite, etc. Exx. M. *mī pāth śikhlā*, I learnt the lesson and with the same meaning G. *hum pāth śikhyo*.<sup>92</sup> There are traces of this use in other I-A. languages. With the Dravidian construction the past tense is active, as Dr. does not possess a separate passive but in case of need it cheerfully uses the past relative participle in what we should regard as a strictly passive sense, e.g., *heḷida mātu*, the spoken word. An Indo-European mind does, however, check at this use. And this is probably why the *Karmaṇi* construction has been developed.

(b) The *Karmaṇi* construction.

88. According to Indo-European grammar, this construction would consist of an Agent, a Subject and a Verb in the passive voice. "A cat was seen by me." In English and, I believe, in other European languages and in Persian this construction would be exceedingly awkward but grammatical.

In M. & G. the construction is not only grammatical, but natural and the grammarian has no hesitation in calling the Agent, the subject in the agential case; the Subject, the object in the nominative case; and the Passive verb, the verb governing the object, The *kartā* and *karma*, according to the indigenous teacher, do not alter with the change of case. Consequently the English knowing Indian considers "he ate the sweetmeat" to be a verbally accurate translation of the M. *tyānem barfi khāllī*<sup>93</sup> and "he read the lessons" similarly a word for word reproduction of G. *epe pāth vāñcyā*.<sup>94</sup> But that there is felt to be a certain awkwardness in the form is shown by the number of variations of it. In M. the construction is generally used only with irrational objects in the

<sup>92</sup> Vide Naval § 240, Taylor p. 68, 69.

<sup>93</sup> Naval § 488.

<sup>94</sup> Khansaheb and S. § 238.



construction is derived from the *Karmaṇi*, especially as neither G. nor M. show any particular fondness for impersonal constructions. If we look to K. we find a complete absence of this construction. The construction is however so old that it may well have preceded the *Karmaṇi* construction. It is present possibly in the Śrāvana Belgola inscription (circ. 1118) which may be quoted again from para 23. *Śrī Gaṃgarāje suttāle karaviyaḷeṃ*. This phrase may be the *Kartari* with the verb agreeing with the object or the *Karmaṇi* with the subject not in the instrumental, but in the nominative case or the *Bhāve* with the subject in the nominative. But more than anything it resembles the K. translation *Śrī Gaṃgarāje suttāle māḍisida*, where *māḍisida* is an alternative for the inflected form *māḍisidanu* and is a verb-noun with a termination derived from a neuter pronoun. It is supposed but not known that the primitive Kanarese sentence consisted of a substantive noun and a verb-noun both uninflected for gender and that the neuter pronoun was for some reason used to represent the Past tense. Whether this device was of Dravidian origin or not, it is difficult to ascertain, but there is nothing to stand in the way of an Aryan origin. Indo-European analogies do not help us to a further extent than that passive participles may be used with an auxiliary verb to denote an indefinite Past tense, and the Romance languages show that an indefinite Past tense may be popularly used to express a finite Past. There is apparently, however, no evidence of I.-A. having used the auxiliary "to be" with any freedom and still less with a passive participle to represent a Past tense. Possibly the reason is that it has not been thought worth while to collect examples. But provisionally it may be held that I.-A. and Dr. at an early period used a neuter form of the participle as a verb-noun to express the past tense and then proceeded *pari passu* to develop each its own system of inflecting it and bringing it into line with the genius of the parent-language.

#### § 24. *Passive Voice.*

90. K. has no true passive and Spencer (202) gives nine forms used as substitutes. M. has no passive and G. has a passive, which is sparingly used. It prefers periphrases. The obvious form for

M. and G. to use is the past passive participle with the copula. They did not do so because (1) the past participle was used for the past indicative (2) the copula was already employed for the foundation of the conditional clause (see para. 118).

91. Most of the periphrases in K. are paralleled in M. and G. There are three not peculiar to India.

- (1) 'To feel' or 'find' etc., with a noun. K. *paḍu*, feel *koḷḷu* take, *āścaryapaḍuttēne* I feel surprise. The M. *pāvṇem* and G. *pāmvum*<sup>101</sup> is similarly used. In the same class may be put K. *sikku* to be found M. *miḷṇem* G. *malvum*.
- (2) 'To eat' with a noun. This is a use similar to (1) but peculiar to the East. K. *tinnu*; *avanu peṭṭu tinda*, he ate blows. M. and G. has similar expressions.
- (3) 'Worthy of' with a noun. K. *ī vākyavu nambatakkadu*, this word is worthy of belief, M. *pāhāvayā jogā*, G. *jovā lāyak*, both meaning 'worth seeing.'

The remaining periphrases none of which are mentioned by Spencer, are more peculiar to India.<sup>102</sup>

- (4) The K. infinitive in *-alu*, again with *paḍu* feel or suffer, *māḍalpaḍuttēne* I am made. This form is used in old K. but is rare in modern literature (Kittel p. 325). It is probably literary only and is rarely found in the Tamil classics (Cald. p. 467). If an agent is to be expressed, the instrumental is used. This form is not found in M. & G.
- (5) 'To go' with a participle. K. *hōgu*, M. *jāṇem*, G. *javum*. K. uses the past verbal participle, which corresponds with the absolutive participle in M. and G. So K. *wondu kuriyu kaḷedu hōyitu*, one sheep was lost. M. *to marūn gelā*, G. *te mari gāyo* he died. The latter forms are not, indeed, passive, but Navalkar §305-6 gives the M.

<sup>101</sup> *Pāvṇem* and *pāmvum* mean 'to obtain' not 'to feel'. K. *paḍe* means 'to obtain' and can be used like *paḍu*. There is an obvious connexion of ideas in the three languages.

<sup>102</sup> This form and other passive periphrases are to be found in other languages, but I am not aiming at completeness.



expression as an alternative to the passive. The more obviously passive use is that with the past participle M. *to mārīlā gelā*, G. *ā māṇas māryo gayo*, he (G. this man) was beaten. It must be noted that these phrases do not express the meaning of killing and that the phrases *mārūn ṭākīlā gelā* and *māri nākhyo gayo* are never used. Therefore if *gelā* is to be used *marūn* must be the word employed. It must be noticed that the past verbal participle in K. is used in the absolutive sense as well as supplying the form for the past indicative. M. and G. use the absolutive for the intransitive verb and the past participle for the transitive verb in conformity with Aryan grammar. It is significant that G. uses not the *-lo* form, which is the more usual adjectival form of the past participle, but the *-yo* form, which is that normally used for the past tense. Similarly M. uses *-lā* and not *-lela*. It appears therefore that the use of the verb 'to go' represents an attempt to modify an active verb, rather than to supply a copula for a passive verb. The idea is so un-European that it is difficult to explain, but utilising the fact that in English also the past tense is often identical with the past participle, we can mention the phrase 'he shot went' or 'he went shot' as, though un-English, conveying a distinctly passive meaning, when compared with "he shot."

- (6) 'To become' with the infinitive in various forms. This is found in K. only and not in M. or G. It is also used with a neuter participial noun, which is also a verbal noun. Exx. *Suvārtēyu mārkaminda bareyalāyitu*, the gospel was written by Mark (Spencer 190) *ūtāmāḍalāyitu* a meal was prepared. *Bareyoṇa* is also used for *bareyalu*. *Āyitu* is the past of *āgu*, become. Also *adu hēlvadāgide*, that has been said. The construction is probably impersonal and has an air of artificiality.
- (7) 'To come' used in K. with the verb-stem form of the infinitive. *Keḷabaruttade*, it is heard (K. F. B. less. 1.) and in M. and G. with the locative of the infinitive. M.

*kiti kāgad lihīṇyānt āle*, how many papers have been written (Kher 344-10.), *Ġ. ā ghar samarvāmām āvse*, this house will be repaired, *chokrāṇe śikhavāmām āvse*, the boys will be taught (Taylor § 74.1). In the K. example the word *kēla* may be in the locative. In certain nominal bases the crude form is used as a locative (Kittel pp. 63, 64). But the statement by Kittel (p. 125 Remark) that the verb-noun ending in *-a* is the only one to which a locative meaning is not ascribed makes the case of *kēla* doubtful. It is worth noting that in *Ġ.* the object (and logical subject) when rational bears an accusative inflexion, but this of course does not affect the question, as in *Ġ.* the verb-noun is definitely in the locative. To judge from the uses in M. and K., the *Ġ.* construction is only impersonal in appearance, or perhaps, we should say, has been assimilated to an impersonal construction.

- (8) The past verbal participle combined with the substantive verb (Kittel p. 329). This idiom is used impersonally only in K. *bāgalu muccide* the door is shut, *sīteyanṇu rāmanige koṭṭitu* Sita was given to Rama. I regard this as a verbal-noun construction. That is to say *mucci* means, to shut or the shutting of and *koṭṭu* means, to give or the giving of. So—‘there is a shutting of the door’, etc. The past verbal participle is employed in its old sense of verbal noun.<sup>103</sup> This use appears to be identical with the Bhāve construction in M. (§ 23.b.), and as it is uncommon in K., was presumably suggested by it. It is, in any case, a Dr. device to express an Aryan idiom.

### § 25. Compound Verbs.

92. In I.-E. languages the normal method of intensifying or modifying the meaning of a simple verb is to affix a preposition or adverb. In the Indian languages the effect is obtained by the use of an intensive or auxiliary verb or of an adjective. The distinction between the uses of adverb and adjective as a complement to the verb is too fine to be discussed at the present stage;

<sup>103</sup> Kittel, p. 105.

but that between the uses of an auxiliary verb and a preposition is very definite. In all of our three languages, K. M. and G., (and indeed in all of the Indian languages, which have come to my notice) the following idiom is used. The verb to be intensified is inflected as an absolutive participle and the intensifying verb is made the principal verb. So K. *kondū hāku*, to kill, lit: killing throw, M. *mārūn ṭākṇem*, G. *mārī nākhvum*, to kill, lit: striking throw. Similarly K. *takkonḍu bā*, M. *gheūn ye*, G. *lei āv* (or *leto āv*, which is a common colloquialism) mean "fetch," but are lit: "taking or having taken come." Navalkar § 307 and Taylor § 81 give a number of such forms, the characteristic of which is that they bear a special meaning in combination. It is, however, necessary to distinguish between phrases such as *kondū hāku* with a transitive verb as principal and phrases such as *takkonḍu bā* with an intransitive verb as principal. In the former type the absolutive is apparently used in its old Dr. sense of a verb-noun and the compound is, in fact, a nominal compound, which is often used (as will be shown later in this section) governing the accusative case like a simple verb,—nearly always in K. and very frequently in M. and G. The latter type of phrase with an intransitive verb as principal is on a different footing. In English it can generally be translated by two co-ordinate verbs, e.g., "come and bring" as well as by a verb and a preposition "bring up" or "bring along." It will be noticed that the K. phrase contains three verbs *tege*, *kolḷu*, *baru*, remove, take, come as *takkonḍu* is for *tege konḍu*. In such cases the subordinate verb is participial and closer to the Aryan idiom.

93. Nominal compounds are used with a direct object in the accusative case (inflected or uninflected) instead of the genitive or a postpositional case. M. *tūm mājhe aparādh kṣamā karaśīl*, wilt thou pardon my faults? (Nav. § 116); G. *tamāro bāp tamārā aparādh paṇ māf nahi karśe*, your father will not forgive your faults also (Taylor, p. 244); K. *yēnu māṭāḍuttīrī*, what are you talking about? (Ziegler p. 17). This idiom is not noticed by Navalkar and Taylor. The examples taken from their grammars are in illustration of other points of grammar. Navalkar, in fact, states (§ 295) that the object of a nominal compound is

always inflected. K., which does not distinguish seriously between the noun and the adjective or between the nominative and genitive, is indicated as the parent of this idiom. It is not, however, forgotten that a somewhat similar idiom is used in European languages, but any attempt to compare the processes of development in all parallel cases would cause the limits of this article to be exceeded.

94. There is a further interesting use of compound verbs in K. M. & G. This is, to express an action done for oneself (like the middle voice) or an action done for others, by the use of the verbs meaning 'to take' and 'to give' respectively, K. *yell' iṭṭu koṇḍaḷu*, where did she keep it? (Zeig. p. 30); M. *āpaṇ snān karūn ghyāveru*, you may finish off your ablutions. (Nav. § 307. 1, see also § 340, 4, 602-3); G. *bhai, jhaṭ nāhi le*, bathe quickly, my lad (G. F. B. lesson 7). The above are examples of "to take." Examples of "to give" are:—K. *ī kelasa nanage tōrisi kōḍiri*, teach me how to do this job (Zieg. p. 83); M. *tulā nāṇyāṁci māhiti karūn detom*, I am going to give you some information about money (M. F. B. lesson 36);<sup>104</sup> G. *mane enī kañcali karāvā āpso*, will you have a bodice made for me out of it? (reply: *hā, kāle tāre māte kañcali karāvīś*, yes, I will have one made for you tomorrow). In the above expressions we appear again to have the absolutive participle used as a verb-noun. The idea is perhaps clearer in K. "Where did she take the putting of it? Give me the showing of this job." Hindustani which uses the verb-root (in O. K. used as a verb-noun), as absolutive participle as well as the verb-root with *-kar* and *-ke*, uses only the verb-root in such compounds as *dedo* give up. But when intransitive verbs are used *-kar* and *-ke* are often used such as *lekar jāo*, take away.

95. This practice taken into consideration with the G. use of the present participle in such constructions with intransitive verbs supports the *a priori* theory of difference of origin of the two types of compound verbs. The transitive type (*i.e.* where the principal verb is transitive) appear to be Dr. in character

<sup>104</sup> A clumsy expression, but it illustrates the point.

while the "intransitive type" is of dubious origin. It may only be analogical with the transitive use, and accepted from its similarity with the Skt. absolutive. And the development even of this latter may have been materially assisted by the vernacular learning towards its use.

#### § 26. *Inceptives.*

96. Neither M. nor G. particularly favour Skt. expressions for inceptive constructions. The Persian word *sharū* in a modified form is often used. But the idiom which they possess in common with K. is quite usual and is preferred in conversation. A verb meaning "to touch (int.)" is used with the infinitive. M. *to cālūn lāgalā*, he began to walk (Nav. § 310); G. *loko dhujvā lāgyā*, people began to tremble (Tayl. § 89); K. *nīvu alahattidāga*, when you began to cry (K. F. B. Lesson 10). Here *aḷa* is an infinitive of *aḷu* to weep: *hattu*, like *lāg*,—means "to touch." The O.K. form *pattu*, (found also in Tel.) appears not to have the meaning of "begin." It is therefore not possible to suggest an origin.

#### § 27. *Impersonal Verbs.*

97. The difference between the I.-E. and the Dr. impersonal verbs is superficially slight. Both types of language have a verb-noun as subject to a defective verb. For example in Latin *nec luisse pudet* nor am I ashamed to have played. But *me piget* I am annoyed, introduces a different type of impersonal verb, which is not found in Dr. In both the above cases the impersonal verb can be parsed as the 3rd Pers. Sing. Pres. Ind. Act. The oldest type of impersonal verb in K. cannot be parsed thus: *bēku* it is necessary, *sāku* it is enough, are verb-nouns in origin, afterwards used as a present indicative. *Bahudu*, *barutte*, *baruttade* with the negatives *beḍa*, *salla*, *bāradu* are other varieties. The K. scheme of an impersonal phrase is to begin as if for an ordinary phrase, but, instead of using a transitive verb, to use the impersonal verb with its subordinate verb. For example *nānu hōguttene* I am going; *nānu hoga bēku* I must go. It is probable that *nānu hōguttene* has replaced an old phrase such as *nā hoga* I going whence *nā hoga bēku* I going is necessary would naturally follow. The inflexions are later additions, *-nu* is added to *nā*

I, forming *nānu*; the ending *-ene* is added to *hōgutta*, the verb noun to form *hōguttene*. And as, from the Dr. point of view, a personal termination is merely added to the verb-noun to make the allusion more definite, there is no reason why the personal termination should not be added to *bēku*. This, however, is not done, but *beḍiri* is found as the 2nd Pers. Plur. of *beḍa*, it must not be.

98. M. and G. do not follow this line of development. Their impersonal verbs are, however, antiquated in form. In M. *pāhiye* and G. *joie*, it is necessary, the obsolete passives of the verb "to see" in the sense of "to desire"<sup>105</sup> are used (of Hindustani, *cāhiye*). In G. *jovum* no longer means "to desire" but the M. *pāhaṇem* still possesses this meaning. There is nothing surprising in the use of the word "see" in the meaning of "desire" (look for) and the construction of these impersonal phrases is in accordance with Aryan idiom. But its use as an impersonal is unusual, especially when the sense of "desire" is expanded into that of "necessity." There is a corresponding idiom in colloquial Hindustani, which grammarians refuse to recognise. The word "*māṅtā*" means "I, (thou), (he) ask (s) for," but is used in the sense of *cāhiye*, it is necessary. We find (in the Bombay variety of Hindustani) the phrases "*do lakrī māṅtā*" "I want two sticks", *kyā māṅtā* "what do you want?," or "what does she want?" In these phrases *māṅtā* is exactly equivalent to *cāhiye*. This idiom corresponds with the M. and G. development of the meaning of "desire" into "necessity" and with the K. use of a verb-noun or participle for the present impersonal verb. No emphasis need be laid upon the latter use. The correspondence may be accidental. It is curious that the Bombay Presidency speakers of Hindustani, who are either Gujaratis or Marathas, should not have adopted *cāhiye*, seeing that there is a corresponding idiom *joie* or *pāhiye* in their languages. It may be that the idiom is due to European influence, but I have never found any European habitually using the phrase who knew that a verb *māṅnā* 'to ask for' existed.

99. There is another point of contact between the M., G. and K. uses. *Pāhiye* and *joie* mean "is seen." The K. *bēku* is a con-

<sup>105</sup> On the identity of "to see" and "to desire" in I.-A., Vide Block, Voir en Indoaryen *Fest-schritte Wackernagel*, p. 147.



traction of *beḍku* O. K. *bēḷku*, *bēḷ* to desire, entreat.<sup>106</sup> In I.-A. the senses of "desire" and "see" are irregular and distributed among the four or five words meaning "to see"<sup>107</sup> and the Sanskrit original may mean "to see" or "to desire" or both in its later vernacular stage. The Dr. forms appear to have been in the beginning separate. There is the root *bēḷ* to desire and the root *bēg*, spy, see. *Bēku* is credited by Kittel in his Dictionary with a doublet *bēhu*, which is also a doublet of *bēgu*. Te. has *vēgu* to watch and *vēcu* to watch, expect, hope, wish for. A fuller search may lead to the discovery of more alternatives in Dr. languages, but in K. *bēku* is the sole means of expressing want, desire, necessity, either singly or with another verbs. In M. and G., on the contrary, *joie* and *pāhije* though the usual forms are not the only methods of expressing the sense. There is unfortunately no possibility of proof as the evidence now is, but I would advance the following theory of development. Pr. Dr. had a form *bēḷku*, *bēḷ* or *vēḷku*, *vēḷ* to see, desire. For such doublet, compare *nālku* *nāl* four in K. (*nāl* being colloquial). This form split into K. *beḍku*, *bēku* desire and *bēgu* see, Ta. *veṇḍu* desire, Te. *vēḍu* desire, *vēgu* watch, *vecu* expect, Tu. *vēḍu* desire. The K. *nōḍu* see, does not mean 'desire' though it has the meaning of "expect." The Pr. Dr. meanings of *bēḷ*, influenced the Skt. words meaning "to see" and Skt. in turn induced the separation of the forms of *bēḷku* to correspond with the different meanings. If this view is correct the process took place long before our earliest Dr. records.

100. To a logical mind the use of *pāhije* *joie* and *bēku* as a simple impersonal with the addition of a copula in the past tense to indicate past necessity would seem sufficient. But all the languages M. G. and K. seem to have been possessed with a restless desire to inflect. The inflexions of M. and G. like those of K. are often signs of a need for greater exactness of expression, which M. and G. declined to inherit from their ancestor and which was never possessed by prim. Dr. for K. to inherit. We find therefore that G. is not satisfied with

<sup>106</sup> Ta. *veṇḍu*, Te. *vēḍu*, Tu. *beḍu*.

<sup>107</sup> Bloch—Voir en Indo-Aryen.

*joie*, as a kind of inarticulate slang phrase, but treating it as a 3rd Pers. Sing. of the Present (Aorist), creates the forms *joie che*, *joise* (Fut.), *joito* (Pres. Part.) and *joiat* (Cond.) (Taylor § 66) The negative is *nahi joie* or *joito nathi*. M. has *pāhije hotom*, I was wanted, *mī pāhije*, I am (shall be) wanted and inflects the verb not timidly like K. but with complete boldness, by means of personal endings, e. g., *tuṁ pāhijes*, *te pāhijet*, *mī pāhije*, *to pāhijel* (Naval. § 264.) The cause of this inflexion is due to the revival of grammatical feeling probably coincident with the recognition of M. as a language and the beginnings of the growth of a Maratha unity. So too with Gujarati.

101. The negatives run on different lines. M. has *nako* is not wanted, do not—, with inflected forms *nakos*, *nakā*, *nakot* (Nav. § 266 admits only *nakot*, but admits other forms § 268 and Kher p. 236 gives all three forms). *Nako* is quite consistently derived from *na* and *kar* to do. However *kāhīm nako* does not mean 'do not do anything' but "I don't want any." According to the present use "do not do" is a derived meaning not the original and *karūṁ nako* is far more easily explained as "doing is unnecessary" than as "do not do doing." Is *nako* therefore derived from some other root than *kar*? That conclusion is unnecessary. But it does appear that a people not speaking any A. tongue, but having to communicate with A. speakers, took the word *nako*—do not—as an expression equivalent to *bēḍa*—it is unnecessary—with a derived use "do not" and used it in much the same way as *bēḍa* as an absolute verb noun. The similarity of the endings of *nako* with that of *bēku* and *sāku* may have made the adoption of *nako* easier.

102. Possibility is expressed in M. by the verb *yeṇem* to come generally impersonally, e.g., *malā cālṭāṁ yeṇem*, I am able to walk. The negative is *yet nāhīm*, the forms *naye*, *nayet* being used to express the meaning ought not, should not. G. has neither of these uses, but K. uses *baru* "come" in the meaning of "be able" as *nanage ḍḍalikke baruttade*, I can read,<sup>108</sup> *ḍḍa baruvadilla*, I cannot read, *tereya barada kaṇṇu* an eye which

<sup>108</sup> Kittel Grammar, p. 338.

cannot open.<sup>109</sup> Spencer gives this third example to illustrate *baru* in the meaning of "understand." These uses are impersonal, but Spencer notes that in conversation they are used personally. To correspond with the M. *naye*, ought not, there is K. *bahudu*, it is proper, with its negative *bāradu*; *nānu bareya bahudu*, I may write, and *avaru hige mātanādabāradu*,<sup>110</sup> they must not speak thus. Both forms are derived from *baru*, come. The M. *naye* is similar to *nako* being the negative imperative. But it never means "do not come." *Nako* is a curt refusal to accept or to allow, *naye* is a piece of advice. The loss of the root meanings of both is due probably to the inability of Dr. speakers of A. to distinguish between the ideas of "do not" and "not needed", of "come" and "may" respectively. The adoption of these two words in M. is probably prior to the stabilisation of *pāhije* as a definite impersonal verb.

103. The word "yes" in the three languages is an impersonal form of the verb "to be." The negative "no" is similarly, the negative impersonal of the same verb. "Yes." M. *hoy* (vulg. *ho* pron. *hō*), G. *hā* (vulg. *hove*), K. *houdu*, O. K. *aha*. "No" M. *nāhīm*, G. *nahi*, K. *illa*. All the positive forms are derived from roots A. *bhu-*, Dr. *āg*,<sup>111</sup> the primary meanings of which are "become"; the negative forms are however derived from roots meaning "exist" A. *as* Dr. *il*. The I.-E. tendency appears to favour the use of an adverb or pronoun and it may be observed that most people who first come into contact with an alien language prefer to use a positive or negative verb rather than a simple adverb. It is impossible to refer to prim. Dr. forms and therefore it cannot be said whether the K. form is or is not a mere imitation of the I.-A. forms. It may be, but at the same time those I.-A. forms may have been due to a Dr. impulse.

S. 28. *The Verb "to be" and its negative.*

104. Apart from its uses as an affirmative and negative adverb the verb "to be" has peculiarities in India. In late Skt. the absence of the verb "to be" from sentences was normal,

<sup>109</sup> Spencer, p. 229.

<sup>110</sup> Spencer, p. 123, 128.

<sup>111</sup> Kittel Grammar, p. 117.

especially in phrases containing an interrogative, relative or demonstrative pronoun and to a marked extent in those containing a participle. Dr. Bloch (§ 266, 268) considers that in M. the sentence has in this respect, as in others perceptibly passed the stage of late Skt. The question arises 'Why did Skt. take this turn of development?' The obvious reply seems to be not that it was a natural tendency of Indo-Aryan or Indo-European nor that it was somehow due to the climate, but that the language was influenced by the fact that those using it were employing for conversational purposes a different idiom, and that this idiom was an idiom of the soil. The absence of the verb 'to be' is even more common in K. than in M. G. and unless we adopt the wholly untenable position that the Dr. languages were not prior to the Aryan languages in occupation of India, we cannot escape the conclusion that the idiom was definitely Dr. before it helped to form what is known as Indo-Aryan. Instances of the absence of the verb "to be" are M. *jetheṁ gāṁv, tetheṁ mahārvādā*, where there is a village there is a Mahārvādā *tujheṁ nāṁv kāy*, what is your name? (given by Dr. Bloch); G. *deś tevo veś* as is the country, so the garb; *tamāruṁ nām śuṁ*, what is your name? K. abounds with instances. In Ziegler's Practical Key p. 73-75, there are thirty-nine phrases with only twenty finite verbs of which four alone are forms of the verb "to be". Even phrases like "You do a good deal of work" do not follow the European model or the I.-A. model which in this respect is I.-E., but we have *nīvu māḍuvantiha kelasa baḥaḷa*, the work which you do is much. The copula is practically non-existent in K.

105. The negative of the verb "to be" in M. is *nāhīm* used as a negative adverb as well as *na* which is rare except before the aorist. In K. there is *illa* (*alla*) only and in G. *nathi* used also as a negative adverb, *nahi* and *na* or *nā* being also used as such, but never as verbs. M. inflects *nāhīm* as in *nāhīms, nāhīmt*. K. has a form *illari* or *illiri*, but this is apparently equivalent to G. *nāji* and means "no sir". K. has like other Dr. languages no negative adverb proper. It expresses the negative by means of a device which Dr. Bloch has termed the zero negative and only in connection with verbs. The root of the verb is simply inflected with the

personal termination. Several explanations of this idiom have been attempted, but none are satisfactory. The two K. forms *illa*, *alla* are derived by Kittel from *il=ir*, to be and *al*, to be fit. These derivations cannot be considered as more than hypothetical. The vocalic alternations of *adu*, *idu* this, that, *intha antha*, such as this, such as that suggest a pronominal derivation like that of the French *oui* (*oc*). Both these forms are invariable and it is permissible to suppose that they never represented the negative of the copula, because there was no copula. However they are used to represent "does not exist," *alla* being more common in this sense and there is nothing in theory to prevent them being forms of the negative verb. The M. and G. forms of the negative verb, were undoubtedly originally conjugable and M. has gone through a strange transformation in allowing the form to become fixed for all persons (like the English present tense in dialect) and then to have awoken to a sense of inflexion. I am inclined to attribute the first phase to Dr. influence during the adoption of the A. language by Dr. and the second to the Brahmans' revival of the study of Skt. in their successful effort to combat Buddhism and Jainism. Gujarat has never felt the Brahman influence so much as Mahārāṣṭra and her grammar does not therefore march with M. grammar.

## CHAPTER IX.

### SYNTAX

#### § 29. *Order.*

106. It is stated in L.S.I. Drav. p. 281 that the order of words in modern I.-A. Vernaculars with the governed word before the governing word and the verb invariably at the end of the sentence is also in accordance with Dr. principles. That idiom except so far as it is found in the use of postpositions is not, however, peculiar to Indian languages. The examples given for M. by Dr. Bloch § 273 foll. represent an idiom far more peculiar to Dr. The most salient features of this idiom are (1) the position of the indirect before the direct object M. *Rāmāṇeṁ sadulā āmbā dilā*, Rama gave a mango to Sadu (Nav. § 499);

G. *teṇe gopālne soṭi mārī*, he struck Gopal a cane-blow (Tay. § 132). K. *i yettu nanage bahala kaṣṭa kōḍuttade*, this bullock gives much trouble (Zieg. p. 60); (2) the position of the interrogative whether subject or object just before the principle verb. M. *tujhī āi koṇ āhe, mulī*, who is your mother, little girl, *tyāneṁ koṇācā aparādh kelā*, against whom has he offended? <sup>112</sup> G. *pāṇi na hoy to āpaṇe śum pīe*, if there is no water, what are we to drink? (Tayl. p. 224). K. *i annā yēnu māḍidi*, what have you done to this rice (Zieg p. 86). It is to be noted that *aparādh kelā* the second example M. is considered as one expression and I am not sure that *koṇālā* instead of *koṇācā* would not be more generally used. Phrases like *am, koṇ hāk māritem*, Oh, who is calling? are similarly no exception to the rule. I believe that this order is due to the tendency to omit the copula. *Tujhī āi koṇ*, is commoner than *tujhī āi koṇ āhe* and the commonest form of question is that involving a copula explicit or implied. If the copula is implied, necessities of intonation require that the interrogative should be placed at the end of the sentence. The use of the word "whatever" for "what" in English and "*qu'est-ce que*" for "*que*" in French indicate that the difficulty is felt to some extent even when a copula is regularly used.

107. The interrogative pronoun neuter is used in M. G. and K. to denote a question at the end of a sentence. M. *āj pāūs paḍel kāy*, will rain fall to-day?; G. *tame jāo cho śum*; K. *avar' iruttār' ēnu*, are they at home? G. also has *śum tame jāo cho*, but to the best of my recollection this is only an expression of surprise and expects the answer "Yes". K. has besides *yēnu* the forms *-ā* and *-ō*, as *avar' iruttārō*. These forms appear to be older than *yēnu* in this particular usage. It is possible that *yēnu* is a translation of *kāy* or *śum*, which are in their turn, means of representing the Dr. *-ā* and *-ō* which had no parallel in Aryan.

108. The above idioms are found like many others in the majority, if not all, Indian languages e.g., Hindustani—Tamil. One of them, the late position of the interrogative is also found in Persian, but this fact is capable of an entirely independent explanation, which will not affect Indian.

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<sup>112</sup> Naval. § 571, 572.



## § 30. Subordination.

109. The interesting point brought out by Dr. Bloch §. 276 that M. hardly recognises any subordinate sentences except those of a relative character or introduced by a relative adverb recalls vividly to the mind the fact that the scheme of Dr. subordination is based entirely upon the relative participle. In Dr. the sentence-type is that of the verb-noun, the substantive-noun and the adjective-noun linked up by apposition or proximity in an invariable order. Logical subordination is marked very frequently, says Dr. Bloch by some kind of *parataxis*. Such a parataxis fails to express a sequence of cause and effect and even to express a sequence of time with accuracy. In prim. Dr., apparently, past and present were barely distinguished and different stages of time were not demarcated. The order of the sentence alone served sometimes to indicate that two actions expressed by two verbs were not contemporaneous. One of the most notable instances of this lack of exactness in expressing time is the use of the absolutive participle in all three languages. The following examples will make this point clear, if we consider the M. and G. verbs therein to represent Dr. verb-nouns with a past-sense. The M. (a) *to asem bolūn gelā* thus he spoke and went; (b) *bhet hoūn varṣa loṭleṁ*, since we met a year has passed. G. (a) *cokro joine hasvā maṇḍī gayo*, the boy looked and began to laugh; (b) *vādaḷ khullum thai tadko paḍyo hato*, the clouds having cleared the sun shone forth. K. (a) *salām māḍi hōdaru* they saluted and went away, (b) *avanu hōgi eḍu divasa āyitu*, it is five days since he went. The first impulse is to treat the construction as merely that of a participle and verb so usual in I.-E. But this will not do. The absolutive participle is not definitely present or past in tense, active or passive in voice, infinite or finite in mood. The theory of *parataxis* is necessary, for the absolutive participle is not even always absolute. But the underlying construction is M. (a) he so spoke went, (b) meeting happened, year lapsed, (a) boy looked, laughing began, went (b) clouds cleared, sun shone; K. (a) salute made, went, (b) he went, five days passed. The close connection of all these phrases is evident. M. (b) and K. (b) are especially parallel. They are all informed with one idiom and that not Aryan.

110. Dr. Bloch has also noticed the anaphorical *hem* or *asem* in M. to pick up one or more subjects. This idiom is not common in G. and unknown in K. and is probably due to a grammatical revival such as produced other phenomena peculiar to M. The anaphorical use of *hem*, *tem*, *asem* M. and *e*, *te*, *evum*, *em* G. is on the other hand an exceedingly usual way of expressing indirect speech or a substantival sentence. The use of *ke* "that" is a pure Persian idiom which has been adopted in books under Muhammadan or European influence and is never used conversationally. Therefore, if we wish to express "he heard that Rama had gone", we say naturally in M. *Rāmā gelā asem tyānem aiklem* or in G. "she knew that his mind was injured" *tenuṁ man bagaḍi gayuṁ e (nī) tene khabar hati*.<sup>113</sup> K. uses *idu*; *nīnu nanmannu jareyuttī idu sariyalla* thou dost despise me this is not right, i.e., it is not right that you should despise me. It does not use *intha* or *antha* such, although *hāge* and *hāge* thus are used, e.g., *idda hāge heḷu*, tell me what happened (Zieg. p. 25). But this omission is only apparent as will be explained in the next paragraph. This anaphorical use is merely another phase of the *parataxis* mentioned in para. 109. Instead of placing verb-nouns in apposition, sentence-nouns are placed in apposition. But in such long phrases confusion must be avoided and an anaphorical pronoun or adverb is inserted between the two phrases. And here again we see G. which uses an adverb, in closer agreement with K. than M. which does not. This fact is probably due to the absence of a movement for grammatical reform in Gujarat similar to that carried out by the Marāṭhā paṇḍits.

111. *Mhaṇūn* M. has an extraordinary substitute for *hem* and *asem*, which is not found in other I.-A. languages. It is *mhaṇūn* saying or having said. Phrases like "I will fetch a knife, so saying he went off" or "I will fetch a knife, saying, he went off" are the natural Indian counterparts of English phrases such as "saying (that) he would fetch a knife, he went off." But the types "I will come he saying said" (he said that he would come) and "She came saying he went away"

<sup>113</sup> Tay. p. 118 has *tenuṁ man bagaḍeluṁ che evuṁ te jāṇati hati*, which is grammatically correct, but stiff.

(he went away because she came) are less easily comprehensible. The former type we find with different words used for "say" in the Bible "The Lord spoke unto Moses saying . . ." but M. can use the same word for both, *e.g.*, *mām tujhe gharīm yein mhaṇūn mhaṇālā*, he said that he would come to your house.<sup>114</sup> The latter type is peculiar to M. and the Dr. languages. There are said to be similar uses in Nepālī and Tibeto-Burman, but a superficial search reveals no exact parallels. K. uses the words *enta*, *anta*, *endu* which are identified as participles of the verbs *ennu* and *annu* 'say.' So we find *illavanta hēḷidaru*. (*illa anta hēḷidaru*) they said that it was not.<sup>114a</sup> Kittel (Gram. p. 108, 141) finds these forms *enta* and *anta* puzzling and gives two alternative explanations neither of which are satisfactory. If, however, we suppose that the M. idiom is a translation of the Dr. idiom it is easy to understand. The idiom can be reduced to a form of *parataxis*, which is the Dr. method of expressing subordination and both *mām yein mhaṇūn mhaṇālā* and *illavanta hēḷidaru* can be resolved into the sentences—"I will come, saying said" and "It is not, speaking they said." We miss, however, the anaphorical pronoun which is an essential part of such *parataxis*. The need for such a pronoun recalls the fact that in K. *enta* and *anta* are used colloquially for *int̥ha* and *ant̥ha*, the original forms being *int̥aha*, *ent̥aha*, *ant̥aha* (Kittel Gram. p. 188). The aspirated letters are not a proper Dr. feature. Spencer (p. 214, note 1) states that in the expression *illavanta hēḷidaru*, the *-ta* is frequently aspirated (incorrectly) making *illavantha*. It seems probably therefore that *enta* and *anta* are not contractions of *ennutta* and *annutta* the present participles of *ennu* and *annu*, but the pronouns used anaphorically. In Tam. and Tel. the corresponding forms lack the aspirate element (Cald. p. 431). They are subject to the same confusion with verbs of saying. It appears therefore that the Dravidians in primitive times used the anaphorical construction only for *oratio obliqua*; the construction of the type "he speaking went" or "he spoke, went" was also commonly used and when two words such as *anta annutta* continually come into juxtaposition there is a natural

<sup>114</sup> Nav. § 357 4 Note 2.

<sup>114a</sup> Spencer, p. 214.

tendency for one to be omitted. The idiom may also be illustrated from Tam. *enru sonṇān* said that (L. S. I. Drav. 316) and from Tel. *ani ceppenu*, they said so, as compared with *ceppen-anenu*, speaking said (L. S. I. Dr. 592, 593). In the Tel. examples *ani* is an adverb and *anenu* a verb, the roots being homonyms. The above explanation is, of course, merely speculative as the historical evidence does not reach back far enough to afford verification. It appears, however, to account for the almost complete identity of *aseṁ* and *mhaṇṇ* as used in *oratio obliqua* in M. The phrase *oratio obliqua* is not accurate, as Indian languages use a direct construction, but it conveniently represents an idiom which would be translated in Latin by *oratio obliqua*.

112. *Mhaṇṇ* is used as has been stated above, to mark a causal clause. It is in this connection usually translated as "therefore"—*tethil ghareṁ sukīṁ āhet mhaṇṇ, aśīṁ śahareṁ phār thoḍiṁ asatīl*, there must be very few such cities because the houses there are dry. This is parallel to the G. use of *māṭe* e.g., *huṁ māṇdo chuṁ māṭe moḍo āvyo*, I have come late because I am ill (Taylor § 118). The derivation of *māṭe* is uncertain. It might be expected to have some connection with a verb of saying. It resembles superficially both M. *mhaṇṇem* and K. *mātu* a word. But evidence is lacking. The K. expression has "*endu*" (past verbal participle of *ennu* say)—*avaru nammannu huḍuki baralīlavendu manege hōḍaru*, they sought us and went home because we did not come (Spencer, p. 216). It will be noticed that this sentence is grammatically obscure according to the Indian idiom. It is the method of juxtaposition of ideas not the grammatical structure that makes the meaning clear. *Endu* here cannot stand for *idu* or *intḥa*. The literal translation—They having searched for us went home saying "not come."—is primitive, but intelligible. *Mhaṇṇ*, however, is used in a way which indicates that the phrase is stereotyped and no longer represents a living idiom. In K. according to Spencer, the construction with "*endu*" is only used when it is understood that the reason given is subjective and not necessarily accepted by the writer. Navalkar (§ 357.4) seems also to hold this view for *mhaṇṇ*, but its actual use does not support his theory. In K. *emba* yet another variation (we

have had *enta* and *endu*) and a third form of the verb-noun is used in certain phrases. *Emba* (from *ennuva*) is the present relative participle, *enta* is the present verbal participle and *endu* is the past relative participle. *Emba* is used to express a statement implicit in a noun—*emba samśaya*, the doubt that.

113. Another use of *mhaṇūn* is similar to one of the uses of *mhaṇje*—that is or so called. *Isāk mhaṇūn Ābrāhāmācā putra hotā*, there was a son of Abraham called Isaac (Nav. § 357). *Mhaṇūn* is here clearly used as a passive, an idiom common to Dravidian. K. has *emba* (see previous para)—*muddanembavanobba huḍugaviddanu*, there was a boy named Mudda (K.S.B. lesson 9). The sentence may be analysed thus “Mudda call he one boy existed, he.” The phrase suggests a development from the particular to the general, from the climax to the anticlimax contrary to the European idiom. This turn of phrase is also clear in the M. sentence, the last word of which is translated first in English and so on until the first word is reached which is translated last.

114. The uses of *mhaṇje* fall mainly under this section and it is convenient to deal with them all together. *Mhaṇje* is a passive form like *pāhije*. It has lost its verbal construction and is now an adverb only. Its meanings correspond closely with G. *etale* and K. *andare*. Examples will be given below. There is no obvious connection between *mhaṇje*, a pres. ind. passive *etale*, a pronominal adverb and *andare*, a relative past participle with a conditional participle affixed. The conventional line of explanation is to compare *etale* with the Arabic *ya’ni*, which undoubtedly is used in Hindustani and has had some influence, while *mhaṇje* is explained on *a priori* grounds and *andare* accepted as natural to the Dr. tendency of language. But there is, in fact, a close connection between the three expressions—capable indeed only of *a priori* demonstration, but likely to lead further than any other theory. Let us proceed to the examples, first, illustrating the meaning of “then” indicating a temporal sense often with a causal implication. M (1) *tumhī bolalām mhaṇje mājhem kārya hoī*,<sup>115</sup> should you speak, then indeed my business is done; (2) *to ālā*

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<sup>115</sup> Nav. § 357. 5 Note 2.

*mhaṇje malā sāṅg*, tell me as soon as he comes.<sup>115a</sup> G. *huṁ uṭṭho eṭale te nikaḷyo*, he went away immediately I rose up.<sup>115b</sup> K. *nīnu nannannu baḍyalikke bā andare ninna meimēle haridu baruvaḍu*, if you go to beat me, then it will rush at you. It refers to a dog. The literal translation of the K. sentence is "come you to beat me, if it be said, it will come rushing on your body." Now both in the M. and the K. the meaning of "say" is inappropriate. The G. *eṭale* 'at so much' is much clearer. The M. idiom *aseṁ asatām* and the G. idiom *em chatām*, 'this being so,' indicate that *eṭale* is the more natural expression. The K. expression shows all the signs of an A. idiom being adapted to Dr. use. We have similar awkward idioms in which the form of the A. relative sentence is rendered by an interrogative and demonstrative in K. But there is a K. form *anitu* which is equivalent to *aṣṭu* (O.K. *aṭṭu*) so much, as well as the *antu* above mentioned. It seems probable therefore that in the original Dr. idiom temporal-conditional-causal sentences (for the sentences quoted above can be considered as any of these types) were put in *parataxis* with the principal sentence and separated by a locative dem. pronoun. This was considered at an early date as the relative participle of the verb "to say" and translated into M. (or Prakrit) by the Passive Indicative, which the relative participle represented in certain cases owing to its flavour of the past tense and then settled down as an invariable particle before M. Grammar began to be regulated. The G. form then, as it often does, represents the Dr. idiom more directly than the M. form. There is a G. form *eṭlāmām* meanwhile, which corresponds with the M. *itkyānt* and the K. *aṣṭarallī*. The M. form is not so common (to the best of my recollection) as the G. and K. and I am only able to cite the G. and K. authorities (Taylor § 118 and Ziegl. p. 46) for instances of this use. The words mean "in so much" and its use is clearly parallel to the idiom, which has been suggested as the original form of *mhaṇje*, *eṭale* and *andare*.

115. *Mhaṇje* also means, 'namely'. It is not used quite like *mhaṇūn*, more like Hindustani *ya'ni*. So M. *aśva mhaṇje ghoḍā*,

<sup>115a</sup> Nav. § 672.

<sup>115b</sup> Tayl. § 118.



“*aśva* means a horse”,<sup>116</sup> G. *aśva eṭale ghoḍo*, K. *aśva andare kudure*. Here the M. expression seems the most logical. The G. word seems an imitation of *ya’ni* and the K. expression so far as it possesses a conditional sense is inappropriate. Kittel gives old K. examples employing *endu* and *andu* instead of *andare*<sup>117</sup> and I am inclined to think that we have in K. the relative past participle used in the sense of present indicative passive. To revert to a former example *Muddanembavanu*; if we split it up we find *Mudda emba avanu* ‘he called Mudda’, exactly parallel in construction with ‘horse called *aśva* (replacing *andare* by *andu*). Only the present relative participle is used in the place of the past relative participle. How then to account for *eṭale*. Simply thus. G. has chosen the pronoun to represent the verb in this phrase, incorrectly just as M. and K. have chosen incorrectly the verb to represent the pronoun in other uses of *mhaṇūn*, *mhaṇje* and *andu*, *endu*.

### § 31. Relative and cognate clauses.

116. The theory of the Dr. substratum of idiom in M. and G. has been sufficiently developed in the preceding sections and it will be necessary only to give examples of parallel constructions.

M. *mī patra lihilem, tem ālem*, the letter which I wrote has arrived. G. *meṁ patra lakhyūm, te āvi gayūm*. K. *nānu bareda kāgadavu sēritu*. As regards the M. and G. constructions it is usually supposed that the relative pronoun or adverb is missing (Bloch § 276, Taylor Gram.) But colloquially it is never used and the sentence is actually divided into two parts *mī patra lihilem tem —ālem*, *meṁ patra lakhyūm te—āvi gayūm*, wherein the whole phrase ending with *tem* or *te* is considered the subject of the verb. It is at that point that the orator makes his pause. A halting G. speaker will often interpose the words *chhe te* “this is what it is” to fill in the time while he is thinking of something to say. In the K. sentence there is no doubt. Relative pronouns are unknown.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>116</sup> Naval § 357, 5 Note 1.

<sup>117</sup> Grammar, p. 355.

<sup>118</sup> Cf. Bloch § 276. “The anaphoric particle in the principal clause cannot be omitted.”

117. Temporal clauses are a variety of relative clause M. *pāṭh vāñcitos tevḥām, bais*, G. *pāṭh vāñce tyāre, bes*, K. *pāṭhagaḷannu oduv-āga kudru*—all mean “when you read your lesson(s) sit down.” I have punctuated the M. and G. sentences in the proper way. The relative may be used but is quite unimportant. The temporal adverb is not so much anaphorical, although the term is a most convenient one, as postpositional. *Tevḥām* and *tyāre* really represent *āga*, which is a verb-noun meaning “happen, become.” The analysis in K. in thus ‘lessons-reading’ as a phrase, a verb-noun; ‘happen’ another verb-noun; and ‘sit-down’ yet another. You therefore have three verb-nouns—the first infinite or indefinite awaiting completion, the second completing the first but needing completion by a third word and the third closing and completing the sentence. There is in fact a *parataxis* of three phrases welded into one by contiguity and order.

118. Conditional clauses are expressed in a similar fashion. M. *aseṁ āhe tar, mī khacit yeṁ* if it is so, I shall certainly come,<sup>119</sup> *to mumbaihūn ālā asalā tar, laukar malā sāṅg*, should he have arrived from Bombay, let me know instantly.<sup>120</sup> *Asalā* is morphologically the past tense of *asaṇem* to be, although never used as such.<sup>121</sup> *Asato*, etc., the corresponding present form is also used much in the same sense. G. besides the construction *te āve to, khabar āpo*, tell me if he comes, uses the verb ‘to be’ *jo tene coksai karī hot*, to *āvo vakhat āvataj nahi*<sup>122</sup> had he made careful enquiry such a crisis would certainly not have occurred. *Āvat* corresponds in form with M. *asato*, but is never used in the present tense. K. uses *-re* added to the past relative participle, e.g., *avanu bandare nānu haṇa koḍuvenu* if he comes I will give him money.<sup>123</sup> The derivation of the termination *-re* is uncertain, it descends from O. K. *ade, oḍe*, but Kittel connects it with *ul* to be.<sup>124</sup> This use of the

<sup>119</sup> M. T. B. lesson 2.

<sup>120</sup> Naval § 626.

<sup>121</sup> The expression appears to be due to a feeling that the introduction of the verb “to be” better indicates a condition. See latter part of the paragraph.

<sup>122</sup> Tayl § 142 d.

<sup>123</sup> Spencer p. 140.

<sup>124</sup> Grammar p. 319.

verb "to be" would be parallel to the use of *āga*, become, for temporal clauses and to the G. and M. uses of the same verb to express doubt or uncertainty, as in the G. expression *kari hot* above. Caldwell points out that a form of the substantive verb to express a condition is common to all Dr. dialects and that the word *āgu* become or some form of it may be used to express a conditional or a concessive sense.<sup>125</sup>

119. Concessive clauses are expressed in K. in the same way as conditional clauses but with the addition of the emphatic enclitic *-ū*. M. and G. use a similar device *tari* from *tar* and *toe*, *to paṇ* from *to*. This practice appears A. in origin and we find it in Greek *kai ei* and Latin *etiāmsi*.

We have found that the type of construction of subordinate phrases in M. and G. is that of the relative clause in Dr. It is distinctly un-A. in character although it can be forced into the A. mould. It is not only relative or temporal constructions with a correlative to suggest a vanished relative pronoun or adverb that follow the Dr. idiom. In M. there are sentences such as *mī yeim̐ paryant̐ tyālā vāṭ̐ pāhaṇyās sāṅg*—tell him to wait for me till I come;<sup>126</sup> *mī rupaye ghetlyāvāncūn jāṇār nāhīm̐*. I will not go without taking the rupees;<sup>127</sup> G. *śum̐ evum̐ karyāne lidhe teo mane kāḍi to nahi muke?* Will they not cast me out for having done so?<sup>128</sup> Such sentences emphasize the affinity of the M. and G. constructions with the Dr. relative participle clause.

120. Oḍiya which is a language occupying much the same position *vis à vis* Tel. as M. does *vis à vis* K. actually possesses a relative participle formed by adding to the past verbal participle the terminations *bā* for the present and *lā* for the past tense. *Mu dēbā dhāna*, the corn which I give and *mu dēlā ṭāṅkā* the rupee which I gave.<sup>129</sup> The forms are the more interesting because they suggest the K. *-va* and *-lu* and the G. *-lo* and *-lā* which are all except the K. *-lu* participle in origin. In K.

<sup>125</sup> p. 525, 526, 527.

<sup>126</sup> Quoted by Dr. Bloch, § 276.

<sup>127</sup> Nav. § 658.

<sup>128</sup> Tayl. 149b.

<sup>129</sup> Maltby, Odiya language, p. 25.

-*va* is the sign of the pres. relative participle, while the past relative participle is almost identical with the past verbal participle (not however a -*lu* form but -*du* or -*tu*). As denoting the past the K. -*lu* is only used in the negative e.g., *nānu nōḍalilla* have not seen. In Mysore *nōḍidilla* is preferred i.e., the past relative participle with *illa*. The curious similarity of the -*d* and -*l* forms in the K. negative verb with the -*d*, -*t* and -*l* forms in the M. and G. past tenses should be noted. It is possible that the -*d*, -*t* form is A and the -*l* form Dr. in origin (cf. para 86). The relative participle in *Oḍiya* is sometimes ascribed to Tibeto-Burman influence. But on historical grounds this is improbable. The L. S. I. *Oṛiya* p. 368 notes that *Oḍiya* is in an older stage of grammatical development than classical Skt. and can only be compared with ancient Vedic Skt. It distinguishes between *e* and *ē*, *o* and *ō* unlike any other I.-A. language but like Dr. It has two declensions speeched and unspeeched<sup>130</sup> or rational and irrational<sup>131</sup> and has a full set of verbal nouns. It also, except in the North, has the depalatalised sound of *c* and *j* except when preceding *e*, *i*, *ī* and *i*, *ī* respectively (resembling M. very closely in this respect), and the cerebral *ḷ*.<sup>132</sup> These are all Dr. characteristics (and some of them are Tibeto-Burman). Neither Bengali or Bihāri (Bhojpuri dialect) have actually the relative participle though presumably they possess the Indian type of subordinate clause. Bengali has different declensions for animate and inanimate objects (a Munḍa not a Dr. characteristic).<sup>133</sup> Assamese which language is included in the *Oḍiya*-Bengali-Bihari group as an I.-A. language has the Tibeto-Burman idiom of using a participle for a relative, but otherwise appears to have no further Tibeto-Burman characteristics. We are not entitled therefore to consider the characteristics of *Oḍiya* Tibeto-Burman rather than Dravidian.

### § 32. Various Idioms.

121. Some odd phrases are given below, which are found in M., G. and K. and probably in the majority of Indian languages.

<sup>130</sup> Lingam Lakmajī Practical Grammar of Odhra language 1869.

<sup>131</sup> L. S. I. *Oṛiya*, p. 380.

<sup>132</sup> Maltby, p. 2.

<sup>133</sup> L. S. I. *Bengali*, p. 34.

- (1) M. *gāmv ālem*  
 G. *gām āvyum*  
 K. *ūru bantu*.

The phrases literally mean "the village came" but the true sense is "the village is close at hand."

- (2) M. *vāṭ pāhaṇem*  
 G. *rāh jovī*  
 K. *hāḍi noḍu*. } with Gen.

The literal meaning "watch the road of" expresses sense of "await, expect."

- (3) *Pāhaṇem*, *jovum* and *noḍu*, also mean "watch" in the sense of "to plan revenge against" "I shall see you" therefore means "I shall have my revenge."

- (4) M. *āvaḍṇem*  
 G. *gamvum*.  
 K. *seru*.

The original meaning of the M. word appears to be "come" of the G. word "go" and of the K. word it is "enter." But they all mean "please". G. *mane gamtum nathī*. I do not like it. Possibly it has some connection with the K. phrase *nanna manasige baruttade*, it comes to my mind, I like it. Of the three words the K. only now is used to express its primary meaning.

- (5) M. *yepem*.  
 G. *āvaḍvum*  
 K. *baru*

Here again are words meaning originally "to come" used in another sense. The M. and K. words are in common use in the sense of "come." They also like the G. *āvaḍvum* mean "to know" used impersonally for the most part. M. *malā marāṭhī boltām yetem*, I can speak Marathi. G. *mane Gujarāṭī āvaḍche*, I know Gujarati. K. *nanage akkara baruvaḍilla*, I do not know my letters. The M. use is confined

to phrases with a verb as subject of the impersonal verb. *Āvaḍvum* is a doublet of M. *āvaḍṇem* used in another sense.

### § 33. Conclusion.

122. The information gathered in this article is an insufficient basis on which to found any theory. But it tallies with the supposition that the Aryan invasion was an invasion of a civilisation rather than of a nation. It appears clear that non-Aryan idioms (I do not say Dravidian although I believe them to have been almost wholly Dravidian) had a profound influence upon the spoken Sanskrit during the earliest years of the Aryans in India. This influence so changed the structure of Sanskrit that only in the earliest forms does it conform closely to the Indo-European type. Its inherent vigour was, however, immense and as India gradually became Hinduised, the respect for its ancient literature induced the development of vernacular literature on the Sanskrit model. In fact there was a Renaissance or a series of Renaissances as in Europe after the Dark Ages. If we suppose that at some time about the year 2000 B. C. there was in Persia a religious movement, which is typified in Abraham's monotheism and his flight from Ur and later culminated in Zoroaster's dualistic religion, it is possible that, like the Parsis circa 1000 A. D., a body of men escaped to the East to avoid persecution for their adherence to the cult of the old Aryan gods. The probable line of flight would be through the mountains. The flight like most religious flights would be continuous for many years, fresh refugees would every year join their fellows. The Aryan invasion would therefore compare rather with the colonisation of New England by the pilgrim fathers and the migration of the Parsis to Gujarat than a military invasion of pastoral tribes which could no longer support themselves in their country.

The Aryans intermarried with the indigenous races, until the fear of losing their racial character made it necessary for the Brahmans to enact the laws which afterwards produced the caste system. At this stage the Aryans were speaking among themselves a variety of Sanskrit with Dravidian idioms and some Dravidian words. The priests and educated nobles would know



and talk the purer Sanskrit as being nearer to the gods than the commonalty.

123. The indigenous races were attracted to the Hindu religion, which was manifestly more highly organised and more ethical than their own animistic belief, and valued the Brahmans as exponents of Hinduism. Dravidian kings invited Brahmans to their courts and gradually the Hindu religion spread. There was possibly some missionary enterprise. There is a story that the fish-eating Sarasvat Brahmans of the Konkan originally came by sea from Bengal and it appears that the Aryans after spreading down the valley of the Ganges preferred to proceed by sea rather than attempt the highlands of the Deccan. There were then two conflicting movements. One tended to extend the benefits of Hinduism to all and the other restricted the full enjoyment of its privileges to the original colour or *varṇa*, which introduced it. In very early days a supremely virtuous life would raise a man to the rank of Brahman, but later birth only could qualify and the most virtuous life would only confer the privilege of being born a Brahman in the next reincarnation. It will be seen what effect this would have on language. The priests could not allow any outside their caste to learn Sanskrit and even did not permit any but those of Aryan race to hear it recited. The spoken language had to develop on indigenous lines. Then came the inevitable reaction against the Brahman attitude. It came materially enough, not from the Dravidians, but from the Aryans, from a generous sympathy with a neglected race. Buddha and Mahavira were probably not so much the originators of Buddhism and Jainism as the inspired exponents of a long smouldering religious revolt. In religious movements the first essential is to bring the people closer to the great source and this can only be done by preaching in the vernacular. Later lest the inspired utterances be lost, the words of the preacher must be reduced to writing. Thus we find the beginnings of a vernacular literature. The next step is the publication of royal edicts in the vernacular, but the rarity of these is explained by the fact that royal ministers were ordinarily Brahmans who preferred to write in Sanskrit. Then came ballads and afterwards plays. The publication of

literature in the vernaculars would not be very extensive. The main types would be necessarily few, in spite of a large number of local dialects, as in order to make a wide appeal a compromise would be necessary. This necessity would lead to a movement of standardisation, in fact, to the construction of Grammars. And here Sanskrit, the language of the learned, would be the only model and a gradual Sanskritisation of the vernacular literature and to a smaller extent of the spoken vernacular would result. Marathi in particular, appears to have had a curious history. *Mahārāṣṭrī* as spoken over the largest area (not, be it noted, as most closely resembling Sanskrit) was taken as the representative Prakrit. It was *the* literary language. Naturally enough the spoken language drifted away from it. *Mahārāṣṭrī* did not follow, as there was no new religious revival of an anti-Brahmanic character (except, of course, in Dravidian country, on the part of the Lingayats, who separated at a date which must be left vague). The Brahmans regained their influence, eradicated Buddhism and came to a working agreement with Jainism.

124. Then came the Dark Ages before the Muslim invasions, when literature and all arts and sciences sank into obscurity. It was these invasions and the Muslim domination, no doubt, which gave birth to Gujarati and Marathi literature. Gujarati bears a distinct stamp of Islam and Marathi was assuming it. The *Sabhāśad Bakhar* written shortly after Śivājī's death is far more like Persian in vocabulary than the modern Sanskritised Marathi. Bengali has also undergone a similar process; both these movements are comparatively modern and are the product not so much of religious as of nationalising influences.

125. But in spite of the various layers and ornaments that Gujarati and Marathi have assumed, they have never lost to any great extent their syntactical form. This is a form gradually assumed by Sanskrit in the process of time and a form which Dravidian has always possessed and which is an expression of the genius of the language. All or the main part of the materials of Gujarati and Marathi are Aryan, but they are made up in Dravidian fashion and the form of a language indicates the original

speech of those who speak it more clearly than a few isolated phonemas.

(Concluded).

*Note*:—I cannot conclude without expressing my deep gratitude to Professor R. L. Turner of the School of Oriental Studies and to Dr. J. Bloch of the Ecole des Hautes Etudes for valuable criticisms and suggestions. I have adopted a number of their suggestions without acknowledgment in the text of the article not with any intention to enhance its value at the expense of others, but in order to leave the field of criticism as open to them as before.

#### APPENDIX.

Abbreviations and authorities quoted. The shortest form of abbreviation used is given. There are some omissions of authorities quoted only once.

A	..	..	..	Aryan.
Apte	..	..	..	Apte, Lectures on Marathi, Poona, 1922.
B. R. A. S.	..	..	..	Journal of Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society.
Beames	..	..	..	Beames, Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan language of India, 3 volumes.
Bloch	..	..	..	J. Bloch, La formation de la langue Marathe, Paris, 1913, and articles as quoted.
Belsare	..	..	..	Belsare, Gujarati-English Dictionary, 2nd Edition, Ahmedabad, 1904.
Caldwell	..	..	..	Cald. Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian languages, 3rd Edition, London, 1913.
Dr.	..	..	..	Dravidian.
Fergusson	..	..	..	Ferguson, Inge Vā Colombo, 1907.
G.	..	..	..	Gujarati.
G. F. B.	..	..	..	Gujarati First Book.
G. I. P.	..	..	..	Gujarati Infant Primer.

G. S. B., T. B.	..	Gujarati Second Book. Third Book. These books are published by the Bombay Government Education De- partment and are quoted by Lessons which are the same in all editions.
I. A.	.. ..	Indian Antiquary.
I.-A.	.. ..	Indo-Aryan.
J. A. S. B.	.. ..	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J. R. A. S.	.. ..	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
Kavyalokanam	..	Kāvyālokanam Bibliotheca Carnatica, Mysore, 1903.
Keith	.. ..	Keith, Classical Sanskrit. Heritage of of India series.
Khansaheb and S.	..	Khansaheb and Sheth—Hints on the Study of Gujarati, 4th Edition, Surat, 1913.
Kher	.. ..	Kher, Higher Marathi Grammar.
Kittel Dict.	.. ..	Kittel, Canarese English Dictionary, Mangalore, 1894.
Kittel	.. ..	Kittel, Grammar of Kanarese language, Mangalore, 1913.
K.	.. ..	Kanarese.
K. F. B., etc.	.. ..	Kanarese First Book, etc.
K. I. P.	.. ..	Kanarese Infant Primer.
Lingam Lakhmaji	..	Lingam Lakhmaji—Practical grammar of the Odhra language.
L. S. I.	.. ..	Linguistic Survey of India.
Macdonnell	.. ..	Sanskrit Grammar for Students, 3rd Ed.
Macdonnell	.. ..	Sanskrit Literature.
Macdonell and Keith	..	Vedic Index.
Maltby	.. ..	Maltby, Practical Handbook of Oḍiya.
Molesworth	.. ..	Marathi English Dictionary.
M.	.. ..	Marathi.
M. F. B.	.. ..	Marathi First Book, etc.

Naval. .. ..	Navalkar, Students' Marathi Grammar, 3rd Ed., Bombay, 1894.
Newton .. ..	Newton, Punjabi Grammar Ludhiana, 1898.
Pathak .. ..	K. B. Pathak, Kavirājamārgga Bibliotheca Karnatica, Mysore.
Payalacchi .. ..	Dhanapāla Pāyalacchi, Bhavnagar, 1873.
Pischel .. ..	Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen Strassburg, 1900.
Ranking .. ..	Ranking, Persian Grammar, 1911.
Ross .. ..	E. Denison Ross, Mabani ul Lughat, Calcutta, 1910.
Ryder .. ..	The Little Clay Cart (Mṛcchakaṭika)
Skt. .. ..	Sanskrit.
Spencer .. ..	Spencer, A Kanarese Grammar, Mysore, 1914.
Turner .. ..	Turner, Gujarati Phonology, J.R.A.S., July and October, 1921.
Taylor .. ..	Taylor, Student's Gujarati Grammar, 2nd Ed., Bombay, 1908.
Wackernagel .. ..	Altindische Grammatik, Gottingen, 1896-1905.
Woolner .. ..	Woolner, Introduction to Prakrit, Lahore.
Ziegler .. ..	Ziegler, Practical Key to the Canarese Language, 3rd Ed., Mangalore, 1907.

## AN ISMAILI INTERPRETATION OF THE GULSHANI RAZ.

By W. IVANOW.

It is a well-known fact that many persecuted sects in Persia not rarely tried to veil their tenets by adopting the terminology of Sufism. The vagueness of the doctrine of the latter, and the difficulty of its proper formulation usually gave great opportunity to write for those initiated into the real meaning of the doctrine, while preserving the outer semblance of the highly mystic Sufic piety. There were probably also cases of a genuine "coalescence" of the Sufic ideas with those of the sect which used them for disguise. Especially complete, probably, it always was in the case of Ismailism, which is based exactly on the same Plotinian philosophy as the Sufic theories. Though Persian Ismaili literature is very little known, we may see from those works which are available that often it is very difficult to decide whether one has to deal with, so-to-say, "Ismailised Sufism" or with "Suficised Ismailism." The great extent of the practice of the *taqiyya*, or lawful precautionary concealment of one's real religion, often was carried to such a degree that in the case of some poets it is impossible to decide whether the ideas dealt with by them were really Sufic, or Ismailitic. Some of those poets and philosophers whose belonging to Sufism seems indisputable to every student of Persian or Arabic literature, are regarded by Ismailis as their own co-religionists who wrote with a great degree of concealment. For instance Sanā'ī, 'Aṭṭār, and Rūmī, who are the principal Sufic poets of Persia, are claimed to be Ismailis. We need not take up the most difficult, and probably quite hopeless task of ascertaining who is right, and may be content with the observation that in their higher and more philosophic forms the Sufic and the Ismaili ideas are exactly the same.<sup>1</sup> Both these systems had to adapt the Neo-Platonic theory

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<sup>1</sup> Already Ibn Khaldūn, the famous Islamic historian (d. 808/1406), paid attention to this coincidence in the ideas, see *Prolégomènes*, vol. II, p. 190, and vol. III, pp. 103—106.



to the dogma of Islam by finding a compromise, and there is nothing extraordinary if both were compelled to introduce the same formulas.

Under circumstances like these it is not surprising to find that a similar claim is raised against the famous exposition of the Sufic system, the well-known versified treatise *Gulshani rāz*. It was composed in the month of Shawwāl 710 A.H. (beg. 1311 A.D.)<sup>1</sup>, by Sa'du'd-dīn Maḥmūd Shabistārī (or Chabustārī), a Sufic philosopher of Adharbayjan, who died *circa* 720/1320.<sup>2</sup> The work is probably one of the most popular books on Sufism; its Manuscript copies are very common; it was often lithographed and printed in the East. A great number of commentaries on it were composed, and a great number of imitations written by different poets of Persia. Its full English translation with the original text was published in 1880, by E. Whinfield, in Trübner's Oriental Series (unfortunately, I could not find any copy of it in the Bombay libraries to give reference to it in the present paper). On the whole, the work is very incomplete and superficial, the author was badly upset by the requirements of the metre and rhyme; but the most valuable feature of the work which made it so popular and so well-known in the Muhammadan world is its conciseness, which is particularly welcome in view of the usual profusion of the Sufic writers.

Amongst some Persian Ismaili Manuscripts, which I could examine, I found a short work<sup>3</sup> with the title of *Ba'ḍi az ta'wīlāti Gulshani rāz*<sup>4</sup>, which gives some Ismaili explanations of

<sup>1</sup> In some Manuscripts the date of composition is 717/1317, cf. H. Ethé, Gr. d. Iran. Phil., vol. II, p. 299.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the author's biography, his works, and details of the *Gulshani rāz*, see E. G. Browne's Literary History of Persia, vol. III, pp. 146—150.

<sup>3</sup> The copy is dated 1312/1895, 28 pages of 14 lines each, 4,5 inches by 2,5, in fairly good Persian nasta'liq. It is not free from bad orthographical errors.

<sup>4</sup> Here the term *ta'wīl* is used in a peculiar sense which it probably acquired in Persian-speaking countries in fairly modern times. According to the earlier ideas of Ismailism, *ta'wīl* can be given only by the Imam, and can refer only to the Coran and fundamental ideas of the religion, not to any ordinary book.

selected passages of the treatise, thus implying its being recognised as an Ismaili work. This, however, is not explicitly stated in the text itself. The work is not a real commentary, and is not concerned with the whole of its text. It is better to regard it as an original and independent work based on the *Gulshani rāz*.

The name of the author and the date of composition are not mentioned in the work, and there is not the slightest key to this. We may place thus the date of the composition of the work anywhere between 710/1311 and 1312/1895, which latter is the date of the present copy. The language is good Persian, without any trace of the Badakhshani or Central Asian peculiarities. The author seems to be a highly intellectual man, of good learning. All this seems to indicate that the work was not produced somewhere in the Oxus region. And yet there is a great puzzle in it, if we analyse the Ismaili terminology which we find in the author's references to the doctrinal matters. In his speculations the author continually refers to the terms like *Nāṭiq*, *Asās* and *ḥujjats* (in Plural). This terminology does not belong to the Eastern, or Nizārī branch of Ismailism as it developed in Persia, and as it is found in different authentic works of the community in question.<sup>1</sup>

These terms are used only in those Persian Ismaili works which continue the tradition of Nāṣiri Khusraw, and which are produced in the Oxus area, where the earlier form of Ismailism, as it was under the Fatimides, was mixed together with the more advanced forms of the Alamuti period. It continues there up till now only because of the absence of education amongst the followers of the religion which does not permit them to see the inconsistency

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<sup>1</sup> In the Eastern Ismaili works instead of the term *Nāṭiq* is used *Payghambar*, *Rasūl*, etc. The term *Asās*, which is originally applied to 'Ali ibn Abi Ṭālib, to distinguish him from his descendants, the Imams (it is in reality the *Asās* 'l-*imāmat*, i.e. "the foundation of Imamāt") is entirely forgotten, because the doctrine recognises the equality of all Imams, amongst whom there are no greater ones, and no lesser ones. The term *ḥujjat* in the earlier Ismailism corresponds to something like a "bishop" of the Ismaili church; there were officially 24 or 12 of them. In the Eastern Ismailism the *Ḥujjat* is mostly one, and is endowed with as supernatural qualities as the Imam himself, to whom he is a subordinate.

of this mixture of the un-reformed and of the reformed systems.

As we have seen, there are no traces of the Central Asian origin of the work; does it belong to the pen of a follower of the Western Ismaili school in Persia? We know almost nothing about the fate of Ismailism in Persia after the fall of Alamut in 654/1256, and it is impossible to ascertain whether the followers of the Musta'li branch were found there in the eighth c. A.H., or later, when the *Gulshani rāz* was in existence. The Western Ismaili authors, being Arabs themselves, were not in the least concerned with the matters of Ismailism in "Khorasan" (as they vaguely called Persia), even under the Fatimides, when the *Da'wat* was still united and when most vigorous propaganda was carried in the East.<sup>1</sup> After the fall of the Fatimides, when the centre of the Ismaili Western *da'wat* was transferred to the Yaman, and the connections with Persia completely severed, the Western Ismaili works of historical interest were completely absorbed in the petty quarrels and intrigues of local Arabs, and the stagnant life of this remote corner of the Islamic world. In the seventh volume of his great Ismaili history, the *'Uyūnu'l-akhbār*, Sayyid-nā 'Imādu'd-dīn Idris (d. the 19th Dhi Qa'da 872/the 10th June 1468) mentions with a feeling of surprise and great disapproval a Nizārī whom he met in Syria in 839/1435. The man was from Samarqand.

In full accordance with the spirit of the Eastern Ismaili tradition the author chiefly deals with the question of the moral perfection and the salvation in the spiritual sense, from the tortures of doubt and internal struggle. He entirely omits the philosophical and gnoceological portions of the *Gulshani rāz*, and the chapters dealing with Sufic poetical terminology. We cannot be quite sure that the work is complete in the present Manuscript; but there are no clear indications as to its incompleteness. The author picks up isolated verses from the poem, and recombines them, often even in very short quotations. In addition to this, he sometimes quotes verses by different authors, mostly from

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<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that such an important phenomenon as Nāṣiri Khusraw, who left much traces even in general Persian literature, remained quite unknown to the Western Ismaili literature, in spite of his being an orthodox follower of the Fatimide doctrine.

Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, never, however, mentioning their origin. On the whole, the work is written smoothly, and indicates a considerable literary skill and theological learning of the author.

We may give here briefly the contents of the work, with a page or two in a full translation as a specimen of its style. The original verses from the *Gulshani rāz* are here initialed with GR.

The work begins with a short doxology, and then it immediately comes to the subject.<sup>1</sup> It firstly mentions the "primæval covenant" (*'ahdi awwālī*) between God and Man, by which the latter had to seek for spiritual wisdom and for knowledge of the Deity. Such knowledge, in accordance with the Ismaili doctrine, is possible to find only in the Perfect Man (*insāni kāmīl*) (p.3). "Whoever has not seen the Perfect Man of his period of history, will for ever remain an alien; it is said (in the *ḥadīth*): Whoever has seen me, has also seen the Truth."<sup>2</sup> The existence of such Perfect Man is absolutely necessary to the existence of the world, and a faithful person has to take the oath of allegiance to him. "Verily, those who swear allegiance to thee do but swear allegiance to God" (Coran, XLVIII, 10). This means that those who take oath to the *ḥujjats*, swear, in fact, their allegiance to the Imam (p. 4). This point about the oath of allegiance is still carefully observed amongst the Western Ismailis. This is the Ismaili understanding of the first half of the 4th question of the GR. The second half is about the spiritual "traveller," *sālik* (p. 4). Who is the *sālik*? One who turns towards the *dā'ī*; *kāmīl*, or a complete disciple, is one who turns towards the *ḥujjat*, and the gnostic, *'arīf*, is one who turns towards the Imam. The author then tells about the usual Ismaili idea about the periods of different prophets (*dawr*), explains the theory of the "letters" (*ḥurūf*) of

<sup>1</sup> We may give here the initial lines of the work :

حمد و سپاس مر پادشاهیرا که آثار قدرت او بیهمتاست و ذره خاك از قدرت او  
گوياست، چنانکه در کلام مجید می فرماید که، قوله تعالى، وما بینهم الرحمن والدّا (۹)  
(سیجعل لهم الرحمن ودا - XIX, 96) یعنی ذات من بخشنده و بخشاینده است الحق.  
وهر که وجود انسان کامل ندید و مشاهده نکرد که دوره اوست تا ابد بیگانه <sup>2</sup>  
باشد چنانکه فرموده است، من رأینی فقد رأى الحق،

which the Universe is composed. Then he comes to the question of the *Nabī* and the *Walī* (p. 7), or the Prophet and the Saint, explaining that one is connected with the other :—

GR. Prophethood is hidden in the *Walī*,

And the *Walī* is manifest in the *Nabī*.

He, the *Walī*, knows all mysteries of the creation. The *sālik*, or *ṭālib*, has to obey his orders. By complying with his orders, and acquiring the wisdom, the *sālik* completes the ascension (what the Sufis call '*urūj*').<sup>1</sup> "This is not the doctrine of the transmigration of souls; this is only the manifestation of the (Divine) emanation," as the author of the GR states.

What is (the spiritual) origin of man (*bidāyat*)?<sup>2</sup> (p. 8.). It is from the Truth; and the ultimate purpose, *nihāyat*,<sup>3</sup> is the return (*rujū'*). The author explains that Prophetic mission is temporary and finite, *fānī*, while the *wilāyat* is continuous, *bāqī* (p. 9). The purpose is to convey the light of knowledge. *Dā'ī* receives it from the *ḥujjat*, the latter—from the Imam, and the initiate—from the *dā'ī*. Whenever the *dā'ī* reveals to him the mysteries, kept hidden from the hostile people, the morning of the real knowledge (*ma'ānī*) dawns upon him, filling him with its light, in all its gradually increasing degrees (p. 9). The author gives the outlines of the spiritual progress from the darkness (*zulmat*) to the Light (*nūr*). Further on (pp. 11, 12) he gives Ismaili interpretation of different Sufic symbols. The existence of spirit, *rūḥ*, i.e. conscious and active soul, is due to its capacity of knowing the Imam (p.13).

The author proceeds (p. 13) with the discussion of predestination, as mentioned in the GR, question 9 :

GR. Thou didst not exist when thy actions were created.

Thou hast been chosen for some special purpose.

This is explained by reference to the whole system of the creation. One was destined to become Muḥammad, and the other—Abu Jahl. Pp. 13—15 contain explanation of the struggle of the soul with the forces of chaos and confusion, the Gog and Magog threatening

<sup>1</sup> The corresponding old Ismaili term is *ma'ād*.

<sup>2</sup> Original Ismaili term is *mabda'*, or *ibtidā'*.

<sup>3</sup> Ismaili term is *intihā'*.

to overcome the order and peace, in the form of brutal passions. It is only the reason and light of religion which helps to subdue them. The meaning of the words about God's having created man after His own semblance, is exactly the presence of that Divine Light in the human nature.

The author then takes up the interpretation of the Xth question: What is the sea the shores of which are knowledge, and what is the precious matter it contains? <sup>1</sup> (p. 15). The sea is the nature of man, turbulent and dangerous, and the salvation-bringing shore is the religion of the Imam, bringing the Divine help, *'māyat*, and the aim, *nihāyat*, to its existence. Light and darkness are the spirit and the matter (p. 16). In some individuals one of these elements is prevailing, in the other—the opposite, but both are inseparable (p. 17).

We may give here a complete translation of an extract which may be regarded as typical, and contains more of the author's own ideas than those of the GR<sup>2</sup> (p. 17).

GR. Read the *ḥadīth* "I was a hidden treasure,"  
If thou wantst to know the mystery.

<sup>1</sup> This particular chapter is quoted in E. Browne's Lit. Hist. of Persia, *loc. cit.*, from Whinfield's translation.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 17-19: حدیث کنت کنزاً را فرو خوان، که تابشنامی ابن اسرار، پنهان، یعنی انسان را دو طور است یکی طور عقل (و) دیگر طور عشق، چنانکه قرآن بدان گواه است که، قوله تعالی، والتین والزیتون، و طور سینین، و هذا البلد الامین، یعنی عشق را در صورت خاک نهاده اند و از آن کوه درخت پیدا شد، چنانکه گفته اند که درخت زیتون بالای کوه طور است، و همچنان عشق بالای عقل است، و امانی (امان) شهر از آدم است، و امانی (امان) وجود از عشق است، [18] (رباعی) گر عشق نبودی و غم عشق نبودی، چندین سخن نذر که گفتمی که شنودی، گر باد نبودی سر زلفش که ربودی، رخساره معشوق بهاشق که نمودی، از این جا گفته اند که هیچ کاری بی دلیل حجت نیست از برای این که گفته اند که درخت امام است و کوه حجت، (فرد) بسان آتش اندر سنگ و آهن، نهاده از دل (است ایزد) اندر جان و در تن، یعنی همچنانکه از سنگ و آهن نور پیدا می شود که عالم و آدم از او تجلی میگردد، (فرد) چه برم اوفتاد



This means that man has two Rocks of Sinai to ascend. One is the Rock of Reason, and the other is that of Love. Thus it is said in the Coran (XCV, 1—3): "By the fig tree! and by the olive tree! and by this safe land!" i.e., love was laid in the substance of the earth, and from that hill a tree grew up; because, as it is said, the olive tree is growing on the top of the Rock of Sinai. In this way Love grows over the Reason. The safety of the city depends on man, just like the safety of things existent depends on Love (p. 18).

If there would be no Love and no pity of Love,  
Who should hear all these nice words which thou hast said?  
If there would be no breeze,—who should blow up the  
beloved's locks?

Who should thus reveal to the lover the countenance of  
the beloved?

This is why it is said that nothing can be done without the guidance of the *hujjat*, because, as some say, the Imam is the Tree and the *hujjat* is the Rock.

GR. Just like fire is hidden in stone and iron,  
Thus has God hidden (reason) in the soul and  
body.

آن سنگ و آهن، ز نورش گشت روشن هر دو عالم، یعنی از تربیت پیر کامل  
وجود و ضمیر مستجیب چنان منور و متجلی میگردد که هر دو عالم نزد او ظاهری  
و روشن است، و شیخ التصریح میگوید که (فرد) از آن مجموع پیدا گردد این راز،  
چه بشنیدی از او با خود پرداز، یعنی از جان و تن که جامع قرآن است سر عشق پیدا  
میشود که عالم و آدم منور میگردد، چنانکه اساس و ناطق و حجت و امام، چنانکه قرآن  
بدان گویاست که، قوله تعالی، (و) یسألونک عن الروح قل الروح من امر ربه (ربی)،  
یعنی اگر سؤال کنند [19] از روح بگو روح از امر پروردگار است، چنانکه  
جانرا امر گفته اند، و درون جان سرست که آنرا جان جان میگویند، (نظم)  
سخن از جسم و جان کم گو که من بجسم جان دیدم، شدم در خلوت جانان که  
آنجا جان جان دیدم، یعنی عشق جان است و معشوق جانان، (فرد) توفی پس  
نسخه نقش الهی، بخواه از خویش هر چیزی که خواهی، اما هیچ کسرا فهم این  
اسرار نیست، [نطق] نطق انا الحق کذین (*sic*) شد، (نظم) انا الحق کشف اسرار  
است مطلق، جز از حق کیست تا گوید انا الحق، الخ.

i.e. just like from stone and iron the light may come out, by which the world and the man is lit, in the same way knowledge is conveyed by the Imam and the *hujjat*, which enlightens the world and the man.

GR. Whenever iron and stone strike each other,  
Both worlds become lit by their light.

i.e. the nature of the initiate, *mustajīb*, by receiving the education from a complete teacher (*pīri kāmīl*), becomes so filled with light and clearness that every thing in both worlds becomes clear and visible to him. The *shaykh* *u't-taṣrīḥ* (i.e., the author of the GR.) says therefore :—

GR. The mystery appears in the combination of both  
these,

So, act thyself as thou hast heard it.

i.e., from the soul and body, which is the entire Coran, the mystery of Love is apparent, enlightening the world and the man, in other words, the *Asās*, the *Nāṭiq*, the *Hujjat*, and the *Imām*, as is said in support of this in the Coran (XVII, 87) : "They ask thee about the spirit. Say: the spirit is from the order of my Lord." (p. 19). Soul is called *amr*, and inside the soul there is a mysterious substance which is called the soul of the soul.

Do not talk much about the difference between the soul  
and the body, because I saw it through the body.

(With the help of it) I travelled to the abode of souls, and  
saw there the soul of souls.

i.e., the Love is the soul, and the Beloved is the soul of the soul.

GR. Thus thou art a copy of the Divine design,—  
Seek in thyself everything that thou wantst.

This mystery, however, is beyond the comprehension of anyone. The sense of the expression "I am the Truth" *anā'l-ḥaqq*, comes out from this.

GR. "I am the Truth" is the revelation of the absolute  
mystery,—

Who except God is one who should say: "I am  
the Truth ? etc."

The next subjects of discussion are : this and the future life, the mystical bird Simurgh, the Paradise and the Hell, Satan, etc. Adam is explained as reason, Eve as the heart, and Satan as the *nafs*, or, as it is meant here, obviously, the lower instincts. The struggle of reason with these instincts is the *jihād* (p. 20). All the religious life is thus transferred into the world of moral values. The awakening from the illusions means realisation that everything is but dream or deception (p. 21). When the *mustajīb*, or Ismaili initiate, meets with one who really possesses the knowledge, only then his eyes become opened, and he begins to understand. The only way is to cultivate one's intellectual powers (*nafsi nāṭiqā*), and then the Light shall shine upon the faithful soul, as the rays of the sun shine even upon a "rough surface of a stone" (p. 22).

GR. Before one whose soul is full of light,

The whole world is like the Book of God.

Its first *āyat* is the '*aqlī kull*, etc. (p.23). Similar analogies and symbols traced through the whole system of the Universe.

The statement of the belief that man is created after the image (*ṣūrat*) of God, leads to the question : "Who am I ?" thus returning to the 3rd question of the GR. The argumentation begins with the discussion of the division between "I" and "thou", which in reality is illusory. There is quite a lot of the usual speculations about the letters, dots, etc. (pp. 25—26). Ultimately it is urged to believe into the unity of all things in existence (p. 27). Again it is asked : Who is the wanderer (*musāfir*, not *sālik*) ? and who is a real man (*mardī tamām*) ? The reply is : He who attaches himself to the real *ḥujjat*, avoiding the futile *ḥujjat*, acting in accordance with the Coranic verse (XVIII, 107): "verily, those who believe and act aright, for them are gardens of Paradise to alight in," etc. The real "pilgrim's progress" in this sense consists of continual self-training and trying to attain the high ideals revealed in the religion.

We may add that the present text is a good example of those Ismailitic works on ethics which very closely approach the spirit of Sufism.

BOMBAY, March 1932.

# NOTES ON MUT'A OR TEMPORARY MARRIAGE IN ISLAM

## I

### A BRIEF HISTORY OF MUT'A

BY DR. U. M. DAUDPOTA

*Mut'a* or temporary marriage is a kind of marriage, arranged between two parties, man and woman, for a fixed number of days, after which the engagement ceases *ipso facto* without any further ceremony of divorce. It is a purely personal adjustment, not requiring the intervention of the woman's kin, or the attendance of a guardian and witnesses, its chief object being not so much the establishment of a household or the begetting of children, as the providing of a man with a wife when he is away from home for military or other purposes.<sup>1</sup> It is called *Mut'a* or pittance, because the woman so married receives from the man a small gift either in the shape of a piece of cloth or a handful of flour or dates.<sup>2</sup>

The institution of this kind of marriage is of special interest inasmuch as it constitutes one of the main points of controversy between the Sunnite School of thought and that of the Ithnā 'Ashari Shi'ities, known as Twelvers. Though commonly prevalent among savage peoples,<sup>3</sup> it also obtained among the civilized nations like the Greeks, for instance, and found its expression in Plato's *Republic* in favour of his Guardians. It existed in pre-Islamic Arabia in unmitigated vigour, and was more or less akin to prostitution, wherefore 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb dubbed it as "the

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<sup>1</sup> Juynboll, *Handbuch*, p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> *Taysīru'l-Wuṣūl* (Cairo, 1346 A.H.) Vol. IV, pp. 261-262, *vide* the traditions reported by Ibn Mas'ūd and Jābir.

<sup>3</sup> Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage* (London 1894), chap. XXIII, pp. 517 ff.

sister of harlotry".<sup>1</sup> Its infiltration into Islamic Society and its final abrogation are a matter of history. Like wine, this practice, too, was gradually abolished, although it still persists among the Ithnā 'Ashariyya who defend it with all possible arguments at their command.

If we study the *Qur'ān* and the traditions impartially, we find that as long as the Prophet was in Makka, i.e., before his migration to Madīna, the *Mut'a* marriage was not practised by his companions, nor was it in any manner countenanced by the Prophet. The *Qur'ānic* chapters revealed during the Meccan period are quite explicit on the point. Among the characteristics of true believers is also mentioned that they are "those who guard their private parts, except before their mates, or those whom their right hands possess for which surely they are not blameable; but whoever seek to go beyond that, those are the transgressors" (XXIII, 5-7; LXX, 29-31). These verses incontestably prove that only rightfully wedded wives and female slaves, either bought or captured in war, were lawful for the true believers.

At Madīna, however, things became different. The Prophet and his disciples were constantly in danger of being harassed by the powerful Quraish of Makka, who were antagonistic to the faith of Islām and the rising Muslim community. In their self-defence,

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<sup>1</sup> It should be understood that in pre-Islamic or Islamic Arabia it was rarely any respectable woman that offered herself for the *Mut'a* marriage. There seems to have been a special class of women, particularly slave-girls, who lent themselves easily to strangers, and made over their earnings to their masters who kept them specially for this purpose (*vide* Lammens, *Mo'āwiya*, p. 409). The very nature of the hire given to *Mut'a* women betokens that they must belong to a lower stratum of society. The jealous Arabs could never brook this sort of infamy. Such prostitutes were found in plenty all over Arabia, especially at places noted for annual fairs, such as Makka and 'Ukāz and were marked out by banners waving before their tents. Ibnu'l-Kalbi in his *Kitābu'l-Mathālib* has mentioned the names of more than ten famous women among them being Umm Mahzūl, whom one of the companions wanted to marry but was forbidden to do so by the *Qur'ānic* verse "As for the adulteress, none should marry her but an adulterer or a polytheist" (XXIV, 3). They were commonly known by the name of *Ṣadiqa*, a mistress. (*Vide* Alūsī's *Bulūghul-'Arab* Cairo ed., Vol. II, pp. 4-5.)

the Prophet often sent out parties of his disciples, sometimes headed by him personally, for reconnoitring in the vicinity of Madina, and many times these came in conflict with the Quraish caravans and their troops. During these expeditions, the companions had to remain away from their homes for long periods. In countries, like Arabia, where the climate is so hot, it was extremely difficult for people like Arabs, who possessed a fiery and passionate temperament, to control the sexual instinct for any length of time. Thus 'Abdu'llāh b. Mas'ūd says: "We used to go on expeditions in the company of the Prophet, without taking our wives with us. So we represented (to him) whether we should emasculate ourselves. He prevented us from this (course) and then permitted us to resort to *Mut'a* (*thumma rakhhkhaṣa lanā an-nastamta'a*). So one of us used to marry a woman for a time by giving her a piece of cloth."<sup>1</sup>

We may fairly infer from this that the Prophet, from the very first, was conscious of the immorality of the *Mut'a*, marriage and that he gave his reluctant permission only under exceptional circumstances. The verse generally supposed to embody the sanction of the *Mut'a* marriage is "and all (women) beside these are made lawful for you, provided that you seek (them) with your property marrying (them) without committing fornication; then as to those by (marrying) whom you profit (*fama'stamta'tum bihi minhunna*), give them their statutory gifts, and there is no blame on you about what you mutually agree after that which is stipulated" (IV, 24). Obviously, then, this verse is innocuous, and does not in any way differ from the Meccan verses already translated; nor is by "*istimtā'*" to be understood "*Mut'a*" as commonly interpreted. This is further supported by the tradition put in the mouth of Sabrah who says that in his time "*istimtā'*" meant nothing but the legal marriage (*wa'l-istimtā'u yauma'idhin 'indanā at-tazawwuj*).<sup>2</sup> We may therefore safely assume that the *Mut'a* marriage was not divinely sanctioned, but was conceded by the Prophet as a

<sup>1</sup> *Taysir*, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> *Amāli* of Imām Aḥmad b. 'Isā, *vide Majmū'u'l-Fiqh* of Imām Zaid b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusain b. 'Alī, ed. Eugenio Griffini (Milan, 1919), No. 1432, pp. 328-329.



matter of expediency, and that it did not require to be abrogated by a special revelation in the *Qur'ān*. In this connection, the last words of the tradition handed down by Sabrah are sufficiently convincing : "O people! I had indeed allowed you to benefit by these women. But behold! God has prohibited it until the day of Resurrection. So if anyone has such women, let him allow them to go their way, and do not take aught of anything you have given them".<sup>1</sup>

In any case, the practice was regarded as "carrion, blood and pork" (*ka'l-maytati wa'd-dami wa'l-laḥmi'l-khinzīr*),<sup>2</sup> and was not resorted to except in dire need. Nevertheless, the Prophet soon became aware of its evil consequences, and forbade it on the day of Khaybar (6 A.H.), as is evident from the reproach of 'Alī to Ibn 'Abbās,<sup>3</sup> who in spite of the clear injunction of the Prophet, pronounced the validity of the *Mut'a* marriage. Be it as it may, *Mut'a* continued to be practised till the victory of Makka (10 A.H.) when permission was given for three days, after which, however, it was withdrawn and this form of marriage laid under an eternal interdict.<sup>4</sup>

The story touching the prohibition of the *Mut'a* marriage is recorded by most of the traditionists, and by Imām Zayd b. 'Alī, the founder of the Zaydite sect, almost in the same breath, and through the same chain of narration, but is rejected by the Twelvers as a later fabrication.<sup>5</sup> It was only those of the companions who happened to be absent on the occasion of the victory of Makka, that did not hear of this verdict of the Prophet, and continued to pronounce in favour of *Mut'a*, until 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb seeing

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid*; also Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, with the commentary of Nawawī (Cairo edition), Vol. IX, p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> Alūsī, *Tafsīr Rūḥul-Ma'āni*, Vol. V, p. 5; *Majmū'u'l-Fiqh*, p. 324 notes on tradition No. 718, and Nos. 1436, 1437 and 1438.

<sup>3</sup> *Taysīr*, Vol. IV, p. 262; *Majmū'*, p. 197, No. 618, 1420, 1422. This reprimand of 'Alī to Ibn 'Abbās cannot be reconciled with his utterance *لولا ان عمر نهى عن المتعة ما زنى الا شقى* (Tabarī's commentary, q.v.)

<sup>4</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, Vol. IX, p. 184-185, and *Majmū'*, No. 1432, pp. 328-329, the tradition handed down by Sabratu'l-Juhani.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. for instance, *Al-Fusūlu'l-Muhimma* by Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Sharafuddin al-Mūsavi al-'Āmilī (Ṣaida-'Irfān Press, 1347 A. H.), p. 59.

the serious complications to which it led,<sup>1</sup> suppressed it with a high hand, and his policy in this respect was carried on by 'Uthmān with the same rigour.<sup>2</sup> But Ibn 'Abbās was inexorable; he tenaciously held to the momentary concession of the Prophet contending that the *Mut'a*-sanctioning verse was never abrogated,<sup>3</sup> and in order to construe the sanction of *Mut'a* in the verse, he, like Ibn Mas'ūd and few others, read the phrase "*ilā ajalin musammā*" (upto a fixed term) after "*fama'stamtatum bihi minhunna*." The commandment of the Prophet, the severity of 'Umar and the gentle rebuke of 'Alī that he was a misguided man ("*anta rajulun iā'ihun*")<sup>4</sup> could not deter this Ḥabru'l-Islām from persisting in this wrong course. He would say: "*Mut'a* was naught but mercy from God, by which He showed kindness to the people of Muḥammad and had not 'Umar forbidden it, none but a wretch would have had recourse to fornication".<sup>5</sup> As late as the time of Ibn Zubayr who established himself at Makka as a rival Caliph to the Umayyads (61/73 A.H. = 680/692 A.D.), we find him delivering his pet fatwā which, as time went on, became scandalous. Muslim records on the narration of 'Urwa b. Zubayr that once Ibn Zubayr during the course of a sermon at Makka remarked: "There are people whose hearts God has blinded, even as He has blinded their eyes, who issue fatwās for "*Mut'a*," hinting at Ibn 'Abbās who angrily retorted, "verily, you are a hard and harsh man (*innaka la-jilfun jāfin*),

<sup>1</sup> For instance, the incident of 'Amru b. Ḥurayth (*Taysir*, IV, p. 262) and that of Rabi'a b. Umayya (*Muwattā*, Cairo edition, Vol. II, p. 12).

<sup>2</sup> Lammens, *Mo'āwiya* p. 409.

<sup>3</sup> There is no question of abrogation, as this verse was revealed in Madina and could not be abrogated by the two Meccan verses already quoted.

<sup>4</sup> Alūsī, *Tafsir Rūḥu'l-Ma'ānī*, Vol. V, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> This is according to the version given by 'Ibn Rushd in his *Badāyatu'l-Mujtahid*, Vol. 2, p. 47, although in place of 'Umar, the author writes "Muḥammad" which presumably is an error. Another variant of the tradition given by Ibnu'l-Athir in his *An-Nihāya* runs as: *فلولا نهيه عنها ما احتاج الى الزنا الا شئ* under the heading *Shafan*, which means "except a few people"; also see Lane's Lexicon under the same heading.

for, by my life, *Mut'a* was being practised in the days of the Guide of the Pious (*i.e.*, the Prophet) ". Thereupon Ibn Zubayr said to him: "Well, try it yourself; for by God, if you do it, I will pelt you with your stones".<sup>1</sup> It appears that he remained impenitent throughout, although it is said that towards the end of his life he recanted this doctrine. He is said to have confessed that "*Mut'a* prevailed only in the beginning of Islam, when a man, going to a town where he had no acquaintance, married a woman for the period he intended to stay there, so that she might guard his goods and look after his affairs".<sup>2</sup> It is also stated that he allowed it only in case of urgent need and travel, but people took an undue advantage of this concession. Hence al-Ḥāzimī concludes that the Prophet did not allow this concession to people while they were in their hearth and home, but allowed it only on certain occasions according to the varying needs, until at last he declared it unlawful once for all.<sup>3</sup>

The Sunnites, Zaydites and Ismā'īlites<sup>4</sup> are all agreed on the proscription of the temporary marriage, but the Shī'ites of the Ithnā 'Asharī School of thought, mainly basing their arguments on the reading of Ibn 'Abbās, which, however, is generally held to be weak and rare, up to the present day regard this kind of marriage as admissible. They argue that a divinely revealed institution could not be abrogated except by a divine revelation, and that the Qur'ānic verse above discussed was not invalidated by a later commandment. Further they assert that the sanction of *Mut'a* has been handed down to them through the incontrovertible reports of all the twelve Imāms, and hence they question the competence of 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb in abolishing this marriage, for the competence to enact or to abrogate a law belongs only to

<sup>1</sup> Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*—IX, p. 188; Alūsī, *ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Alūsī, *ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Alūsī, *Tafsīr*, V. p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Mr. A. A. A. Fyzee's note on the Ismā'īlī Law which follows. Granting that the founder of the Zaydite sect was in touch with Wāṣil b. 'Atā' and al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, and was therefore influenced by the Sunni view, it is really surprising that the Ismā'īlites, who have at least Six Imāms in common with the Ithnā 'Ashariyya, do not recognize this kind of marriage.

a *Ma'sūm*, the Infallible Imām.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, in Persia and other Shi'ite countries, such temporary unions are not uncommon. Respectable people, however, rarely contract such a marriage, but if they do so, they extend the term to ninety-nine years, thus making it the equivalent of a permanent one, and the children of such *ṣiḡha* wives enjoy the rights of children by the legal marriage.<sup>2</sup>

## II

### THE ISMAILI LAW OF MUT'A

BY A. A. A. FYZEE

In *JBBRAS* for 1929, N. S. Vol. V, pp. 141-145, I had published the text and translation of an Arabic extract from the most authoritative legal corpus of the Ismā'ilīs, *Da'ā'imū'l-Islām*, by Qāḍī an-Nu'mān b. Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Ḥaiyūn, d. 363/974, probably the most illustrious of all Ismā'ilī lawyers and known as 'the Abū Ḥanīfa of the Shi'ites.' That extract dealt with Bequests to Heirs. The extract printed below, also from the same work, deals with the question of *mut'a*, and is one further illustration of the general proposition that the Ismā'ilīs differ in many important respects from the Ithnā 'Asharis, the 'orthodox' Shi'ites, and agree with the Sunnites<sup>3</sup> and the Zaidīs.<sup>4</sup>

The *Da'ā'imū'l-Islām* is quite clear on the point that *mut'a* is not permissible and is in effect *zinā*. The extract given below

<sup>1</sup> Goldziher, *Vorlesungen über den Islam* (Heidelberg 1925), p. 229. Ma'mūn, the 'Abbasid Caliph, was in favour of reviving the *Mut'a* marriage, but he was dissuaded by Yaḥyā b. Aktham from pursuing this course, as it might arouse public indignation against him (Ibn Khallikān, *s. v.* Yaḥyā b. Aktham. Tr. de Slane, IV, 36).

<sup>2</sup> For further particulars see R. Levy's *Sociology of Islam*, Vol. I, pp. 164-166. For *Mut'a* marriage among early Arabs, see Professor Robertson's *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* (London, 1903), p. 83 *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> (1931) 33 *Bombay Law Reporter*, Journal, 30-32. This article contains a translation of the extract given below.

<sup>4</sup> *Majmū'u'l-Fiqh* by Zaid b. 'Alī. Ed. Griffini, 197<sub>1-5</sub>.

in support of the above proposition and translated by me on a former occasion, has, so far as I am aware, never been published before. Its text is based on four MSS., a detailed description of which will be given in the edition of the legal portion of the *Da'ā'im* which I am preparing. Here it will be sufficient to mention that *A* is dated 1311/1893; *B*, 1325/1907; *C* is undated, a beautiful Yemenite MS., probably 11th century A. H.; and *D* is dated 1126/1714.

The MSS. used—none other being available—are by no means ancient, and therefore no finality can be claimed for detailed accuracy in the text of the extract. Two facts may however be pointed out in its favour generally: first, I have had the opportunity of examining numerous copies of the *Da'ā'im*, dating from the 9th century of the Hijra onwards and have never found them to differ in any material particulars. The text of the work, greatly revered and assiduously studied to this day, seems to have been preserved with singular accuracy by the Western Ismā'īlīs. And the surprising zeal with which they still hide it from the profane gaze of those outside the pale of the Holy Da'wat, has probably further contributed to the preservation of the text in its purity. Second, the *Da'ā'im* is continuously cited with approval by the author of *Mustadrakū'l-Wasā'il wa Mustanbatū'l-Masā'il*,<sup>1</sup> Mirzā Ḥusain b. Muḥammad at-Taḳī an-Nūrī at-Ṭabarsī and the *riwāyāt* there agree almost word for word with the text of the *Da'ā'im* as

<sup>1</sup> 3 Vols. Tehran, Vol. I, 1318/1900; II, 1319/1901; III, 1321/1903. The *Mustadrak* is a collection of traditions and is a supplement to *Wasā'ilu'sh-Shi'a* (3 Vols. Tehran, 1323/1905. Repeatedly printed in Persia. By M. b. Ḥasan al-Ḥurr-i-Āmili.) The author of the *Mustadrak* states that he desired to collect those traditions which the author of the *Wasā'il* had omitted. See his Introduction and iii, 289. The author, according to his own note, (iii. 877) was born on 18 Shawwāl 1254/5 January 1839. The first book in volume i, *Kitābu't-Ṭahāra*, was finished in 1296/1879; from the last lines of the third volume it appears that the book was finished in A. H. 1319/A. D. 1901. The date of the death of the author is not known to me, as the book was obviously printed in his lifetime. The fact that the author of the *Mustadrak* cites *Da'ā'imū'l-Islām* so fully and accurately shows that the work exists, or at any rate existed, till recently in Persia and was known to scholars. The *Mustadrak* is therefore a further source for the establishment of the text of the *Da'ā'im*.

preserved by the Western Ismā'īlīs in India. I have compared all the *riwāyāt* in the *Kutābu'l-Waṣāyā* in the two works for writing a paper on "The Ismā'īlī Law of Wills," to be published shortly, and found that although the order in which the traditions are quoted differs in the two works, the traditions themselves do not differ materially. A curious fact, worthy of observation, is that Mirzā Ḥusain omits all reference to the *Da'ā'im* in his chapter on *Mut'a*,<sup>1</sup> although he knows full well that Qāḍī an-Nu'mān is against him on this question.<sup>2</sup>

The *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām* consists in the main of questions addressed to the Imāms of the House of the Prophet (*ahlu'l-bait*), mostly to Ja'far as-Ṣādiq (the Veracious), and their answers to them. But the extract cited below is of interest because of its argumentative style, a style seldom employed by the author. It will be seen that it consists of three distinct parts. The author begins by reciting a tradition of the Prophet; next he relates a saying of 'Alī, his son-in-law; and lastly, a story of Imām Ja'far is made the basis of an argument from the author's pen, the conclusion of which is that *mut'a* is *zinā* (sinful intercourse).

The language of the extract presents no special difficulty; and, as I have translated it before and have nothing to add to it at present, no useful purpose would be served by repeating the English rendering here.<sup>3</sup>

By way of appendix, three more extracts from hitherto unpublished Ismā'īlī texts are also given. They confirm the proposition of law laid down in the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām*.

(i) The *Mukhtaṣaru'l-Āthār* is a legal work attributed to the author of the *Da'ā'imu'l-Islām*, Qāḍī an-Nu'mān. But from the introduction in the first volume it is apparent that its text has come down to us through the recension made by his grandson, Ḥusain

<sup>1</sup> *Mustadrak*, ii, 587-595.

<sup>2</sup> *Mustadrak*, iii, 314<sub>9</sub>; 318<sub>4</sub> *et seq.*

<sup>3</sup> For the sake of accuracy two minor corrections may nevertheless be suggested. The references are to (1931) 33 *Bom. Law Rep.*, Journal, p. 32.

Line 9—delete "those". Read "And who guard..."

Line 23—for "(from her)" read "(by her)."



b. 'Alī b. an-Nu'mān, who in his turn says that his father, 'Alī, had read it with his father, Qāḍī an-Nu'mān. The book consists of two volumes and follows the same classification of topics as the *Da'ā'im*, but is considerably shorter. This work is greatly esteemed and its authority is second only to that of the *Da'ā'im*. The copy I have used is undated (probably about a hundred years old) and has 396 numbered pages. This is vol. ii; vol. i. is similar in extent.

(ii) *Kitābu'l-Hawāshī*. This work consists of answers to questions arising from the text of *Da'ā'imul-Islām* attributed to some of the *du'āt* of the Yemen, whose names do not appear. Originally, it is said, they were written as glosses to the text, on the margins of different copies of the *Da'ā'im*, and were later collected together in the shape of a book. At present the *Hawāshī* are widely read and consulted for supplementing and interpreting the text of the *Da'ā'im*. The MS. of vol. ii before me is dated 1310 A. H. and consists of 796 pages, 5½ by 4½ inches. I have unfortunately no other information to give regarding this work.

(iii) *Kitābu'l-Iqtisār* of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān. The author in his introduction says that he first wrote the *Kitābu'l-Īdāh*, a very large work of 3000 pages, containing religious and legal matters, and later the *Kitābu'l-Ikhhār*, a shorter work of a similar nature of about 300 pages. In both these books arguments for and against were stated at full length. In the present work he desires to deal briefly with the subject, giving the important points of law, tersely and without argument. It seems to be intended for beginners or as a handy code. The copy used by me is dated 1323/1905; and consists of two volumes of 88 and 91 pages respectively.

In concluding these brief remarks it may be added that the information regarding the *Da'ā'imul-Islām* and Ismā'ili legal literature given above is obviously meagre and tentative. I have collected materials for the biography of Qāḍī an-Nu'mān, and when that is worked out and we have a full list of his works, we shall be in a better position to be more precise and definite regarding the relation of the *Da'ā'imul-Islām* to his other legal works.

\* \* \* \* \*

## دعائم الاسلام

المجلد الثاني، كتاب النكاح، ذكر الشروط في النكاح.

§1. وعن رسول الله صلعم انه حرّم نكاح المتعة.

§2. وعن علي عليه السلام انه قال لا نكاح الا بولي وشاهدين،

وليس بالدرهم والدرهمين واليومين واليومين، ذلك شبه<sup>1</sup> الفساح ولا شرط في النكاح.

§3. وعن جعفر بن محمد صلوات الله عليه ان رجلا سأل عن نكاح<sup>5</sup>

المتعة، فقال صفه لي فقال يلقي الرجل المرأة، فيقول اتزوجك بهذا

الدرهم<sup>2</sup> والدرهمين وقعة<sup>3</sup> او يوما او يومين، قال هذا زنا، وما يفعل هذا

الا الفاجر، وبطلان نكاح المتعة موجود في كتاب الله عز وجل، لانه

يقول سبحانه والذين هم لفروجهم حافظون \* الا على أزواجهم أو

ما ملكت أيمانهم فانهم غير ملومين \* فمن ابتغى وراء ذلك فاولئك<sup>10</sup>

هم العادون \* فلم يطلق النكاح ع ج الا على زوجة او ملك يمين،

1 A, C, سنة. B and D شبه. Cp. also Majmū'ul-Fiqh, § 717.

2 C, الدراهم.

3 A, C, D, وقعة. B, وقتاً.

4 Qur. 23, 5-7.

وَذَكَرَ الطَّلَاقَ الَّذِي تَجِبُ بِهِ <sup>1</sup> الْفَرَقَةُ بَيْنَ الزَّوْجَيْنِ، وَوَرَّثَ الزَّوْجَيْنِ  
بَعْضُهُمَا مِنْ بَعْضٍ، وَأَوْجَبَ الْعِدَّةَ عَلَى الْمَطْلُوقَاتِ، وَنَكَاحَ الْمُتَعَةَ عَلَى خِلَافِ  
هَذَا، أَمَّا هُوَ عِنْدَ مَنْ أَبَاحَ أَنْ يَتَّفَقَ الرَّجُلُ وَالْمَرْأَةُ <sup>2</sup> عَلَى مَدَّةٍ مَعْلُومَةٍ،  
فَإِذَا <sup>3</sup> انْقَضَتِ الْمَدَّةُ بَانَتْ مِنْهُ بِلَا طَلَاقٍ، وَلَمْ تَكُنْ عَلَيْهِ عِدَّةٌ، وَلَمْ يَلْحَقْ <sup>15</sup>  
بِهِ وَلَدٌ إِنْ كَانَ مِنْهَا، وَلَمْ تَجِبْ لَهَا عَلَيْهِ نَفَقَةٌ، وَلَمْ يَتَوَارَثَا، وَهَذَا  
هُوَ الزَّوْجَانِ الْمُتَعَارِفَانِ الَّذِي لَاشِكُ فِيهِ.

#### APPENDIX I.

##### *Mukhtaṣarū'l-Āthār.*

Vol. II, *ash-shurūṭ fi'n-nikāḥ*, p. 248.

وَعَنْ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ أَنَّهُ حَرَّمَ نِكَاحَ الْمُتَعَةِ، وَنِكَاحَ  
الْمُتَعَةِ الَّذِي أَبَاحَهُ مَنْ أَبَاحَهُ هُوَ فِيمَا قَالُوا أَنْ يَقُولَ الرَّجُلُ لِلْمَرْأَةِ مُتَعِينِي  
مِنْ نَفْسِكَ أَوْ يَقُولَ لَهَا أَتَزَوِّجُكَ بِهَذَا الدَّرْهَمِ أَوْ الدَّرْهَمَيْنِ أَوْ مَا قَالَتْ مِنْ  
ذَلِكَ وَقَعَةً وَاحِدَةً أَوْ يَوْمًا أَوْ يَوْمَيْنِ أَوْ مَا اتَّفَقَا عَلَيْهِ مِنَ الْمَدَّةِ قَالُوا فَإِذَا  
اتَّفَقَا عَلَى ذَلِكَ حَلَّتْ لَهُ إِلَى تَمَامِ الْمَدَّةِ الَّتِي اتَّفَقَا عَلَيْهَا، فَإِنْ عُلِقَتْ مِنْهُ لَمْ <sup>5</sup>  
يَلْحَقْ الْوَلَدُ بِهِ، قَالُوا وَتَبَيَّنَ مِنْهُ بَغَيْرِ طَلَاقٍ، وَزَعَمُوا أَنْ لَيْسَ عَلَيْهَا عِدَّةٌ  
وَأَنَّهَا لَا تَرِثُهُ وَلَا يَرِثُهَا، وَقَالُوا إِنَّهُ لَا اسْتِمْتَاعَ لِابْتِجَازٍ بِالْبَكْرِ وَزَعَمَ  
بَعْضُهُمْ أَنَّهُ يُجْوزُ بِذَوَاتِ الْأَزْوَاجِ وَهَذَا هُوَ الزَّوْجَانِ الْمُحْضَيْنِ الَّذِي لَا شَبَهَةَ فِيهِ

<sup>1</sup> *Q*, تجب الفرقة. *D*.

<sup>2</sup> *A, B, D*, الرجل والمرأة. *Q*.

<sup>3</sup> *Q*, فإن.

ولا ستر عليه،<sup>1</sup> ولم يبيح الله الفرج الا من جهتين من جهة الزوجية ومن جهة ملك اليمين لقوله عز وجل والذين هم لفروجهم حافظون الا على<sup>10</sup> ازواجهم او ما ملكت ايماهم فانهم غير ملومين فمن ابتغى وراء ذلك فاولئك هم العادون،<sup>2</sup> فلو كانت هذه زوجة لم تكن بلا طلاق و بغير عدة لان الله تع يقول يا ايها النبي اذا طلقتم النساء فطلقوهن لعدتهن،<sup>3</sup> ولكانت ترث وتورث لان الله يقول ولكم نصف ما ترك ازواجكم وقال ولهن الربع مما تركتم،<sup>4</sup> ولكان الولد يلحق بهما لقول رسول الله صلعم<sup>15</sup> الولد للفراش، واذا لم تكن زوجة ولا ملك يمين فهي محرمة، والاخبار بتحريم المتعة عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يكثر عددها ولقوله لانكاح الابولى وشاهدى العدل، والقائلون بالمتعة يزعمون انه لا يعقد بولى ولا بشهود، وقد جاء عن على وابى جعفر وابى عبد الله صلوات الله عليهم انهم ابطلوا نكاح المتعة و حرموه ونهوا عنه.

## APPENDIX II.

*Kitāb al-Hawāshī.*

Vol. II, p. 390.

ومنه (ابى عبد الله جعفر بن محمد م) وقالوا ان الاستمتاع لا يجوز بالبكر و زعم بعضهم انه يجوز بذوات الازواج وهذا هو الزنا المحض الذى لا شبهة فيه ولا ستر عليه.

<sup>1</sup> See App. II which follows.

<sup>2</sup> Q. 23, 5-7.

<sup>3</sup> Q. 65, 1.

<sup>4</sup> Q. 4, 13 and 14.

## APPENDIX III.

*Kitābu'l-Iqtisār.*

Vol. II, p. 28.

الشروط في النكاح، وكل شرط ليس في كتاب الله عزوجل فليس  
بشرط، ولا يحل نكاح المتعة ولاهبة الفرج دون سائر الرقبة ولا عاريته .

BOMBAY,

15 January 1932.

## BRIEF NOTES

### PAÑCAMAHĀŚABDA IN RĀJATARANĠINĪ.

Under this caption appears a note by Mr. Padbanatha Bhattacharya in this Journal, Vol. VII, p. 487. He makes critical review of what I wrote in the Journal for 1925\* on the correct interpretation of this term. In the article under reference, I considered the meaning of the term as it occurred in typical contexts in various places and in a variety of records, and offered what came out conclusively from that study as the actual meaning of the term. Pañcamahāśabda means nothing more than a band of music conferred upon an individual as an honour, the term itself actually meaning no more than music composed of the five fundamental sounds to begin with. This term with that origin, as it came into use, naturally lost the strict sense of the five sources of musical sounds, because most bands consist of only four out of the five on that basis, the human voice not being one generally. While giving me credit for a great deal of ingenuity, for which I put forward no claim whatsoever, the learned Bhattacharya comes to the conclusion that whatever may be the sense of the term elsewhere, the term Pañcamahāśabda for Kashmir had no other meaning than that of the five great offices, stating *inter alia* that the term has a different meaning in different parts of the country. I may be excused if I do not quite accept this position that a Sanskrit technical term like that should have different meanings in different parts of the country. That is not of much importance however for the present question.

Mr. Bhattacharya himself admits, or at least seems to concede, the meaning a band of music for the Dakhan; the term seems to be used over a far wider area than is ordinarily the case. I shall say nothing more about it than merely to take occasion to mention that I have since discovered authoritative literary usage for the term Pañcamahāśabda meaning a band of music and no more. In the Tamil Bhārata Venbā, a work of the early ninth century, the term is used familiarly as though it were a literary

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\* Vol. I. (N. S.), pp. 238-245.



commonplace in the sense of a band, and, in one place, the author even goes the length of mentioning the four sounds which constitute a band ordinarily, excluding of course, the fifth, the human voice, which certainly does not constitute a part of a band, and particularly so as this author uses the term in relation to the playing of bands in connection with armies on the field of war, where it is not likely that they had vocal music as a part of the band. This is a Tamil work composed in the style of the Sanskrit Campu, verses being interspersed with prose, and this term occurs about a dozen times in these prose passages, as if to indicate that this is about the most familiar use of the term. Passing over that, we come to the narrower question of Kashmir, and I looked forward to Mr. Bhattacharya offering evidence other than the *Rājatarāṅgiṇi* even for Kashmir. After all, he confines himself to the three passages in which the term occurs in the fourth book of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇi*. Of course, I pass over the gratuitous observation that I did not notice these passages on a textual question like that, as that is a matter of no consequence. After all the question has to be decided only on the three passages in book IV of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇi*. In regard to the first passage concerning Mitraśarman, the passage amounts to more than this; the king being pleased with this zealous guardian of the royal dignity made him immediately "worthy of the five great sounds." The lines following, and a few others farther down regarding the same sovereign, state in an entirely independent form his administrative organization that separated five out of his eighteen departments of administration, and put them on a higher plane of importance by giving the heads of these their usual title with the prefix *Mahā*. This was probably because of the higher position given to Mitraśarman, indicated by the term *Mahā-sandhi-vigraha*, as a result of the unique honour already conferred. Terms like *Mahā-sandhi-vigraha*, *Mahā-pratihāra* we meet with as commonly elsewhere as in this *Rājatarāṅgiṇi* itself, and, in this context, *Mahā-sandhi-vigraha* is not brought into any connection with the *Pañcamahā-śabda*. There again Mr. Bhattacharya seems to concede the applicability of the sounds, which I contend is the normal sense of the term.

Before passing out of this subject, we must mention that the confirmation of the honour of the band, which seems to the Bhattacharya an empty sound, is a substantial symbol of dignity, which the average human vanity does prize. Coming to the third passage, which, according to him, is the crucial passage. I am unable to follow where he states this meaning becomes impossible. The five brothers, all superseding their nephew, took over the authority and the honours of the king. The eldest Utpalaka was given the honour of king by having the Pañcamahāśabda. The younger brothers assumed various of the active duties that the king was actually discharging, a very intelligible kind of a division. It would simply mean that all the brothers having co-operated in superseding the king and bringing about the establishment of their own power, allowed the eldest brother to assume the dignities of king. The other brothers naturally distributed among themselves the work that had actually to be done. How is this less appropriate, and how is the assumption justified that the king of Kashmir retained in his hands the five chief offices of the State, which the moment the king was superseded was put into a commission and distributed among the individuals? If Mr. Bhattacharya would explain or illustrate that the kings of Kashmir held in their hands five of the eighteen departments of administration and show that these were actually distributed among the brothers, I daresay it will carry conviction. It is however distinctly stated that these five offices became so coveted that feudatories like the Shahi kings felt it an honour to hold any one of them. It is not stated that the king held all of them. It strikes us, however, that, in this passage as well, Pañcamahāśabda stands for various things, the band among them typically, symbolical of the kingly dignity, and seems quite a satisfactory and adequate explanation, and does not overthrow the sense, musical band for Pañcamahāśabda in any manner. Of course, I for one should be very glad to accept any other significance for the term as soon as I am convinced by proof that the term has another meaning which these three passages either singly or together do actually convey, as Mr. Bhattacharya claims.

S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR.



A  
JAPANESE INSCRIPTION  
AT KANHERI

This interesting inscription in the Japanese Script—probably the only one of its kind found in India—is on the wall of the left side verandah of Cave No. 66 of the Kanheri Caves.

The inscription reads :—

“Na-m-myo-Ho-Ren-Ge-Kyo.  
Nam-myo-Nichi-ren-Dai-Bo-  
Satsa ”

Translated in Sanskrit it means

“ नमः सद्धर्म-पुण्डरीक-सूत्राय ।  
नमो 'निचिरेण'-महाबोधिसत्त्वाय ”॥

“ Hail Thou Scripture of the Lotus of the True Law. Hail Thou Nichiren, the Great Bodhisatva ”

Nichiren was born in Japan in the year 1235 A.D. and it is probable that during that century one of his followers might have visited India : and during his stay at Kanehri might have inscribed this inscription.

C. A. MUCHHALA.

[Note.—An impression of this Japanese inscription, which has been sent to us by Mr. C. A. Muchhala for publication, was shown to Rev. Ehara, a preacher of the Buddhist Nicherin Sect, Osaka, Japan, who kindly visited

the Society's Rooms for this purpose, when he was in Bombay. After an examination of the impression, the opinion expressed by him is given below.

(1) He confirmed the Japanese reading of the Inscription as given by Mr. Muchhala. It is a salutation to the Saddharma Puṇḍarika Sūtra and to the Bodhisatwa Nichiren.

(2) The upper half, which consists of ornamental letters in flourishes, is inscribed in the peculiar writing, characteristic of the Nichiren sect; while the lower half is in the ordinary every-day Japanese script, without ornamentation or flourishes.

(3) The age of the Inscription is quite modern; it does not bear any traces of antiquity. At the most it may be about 20 years old. The character of the letters of the inscription points to the same conclusion. In this connection Rev. Ehara thinks, that some twenty years ago Prof. Kyotsui Oka (of the Rissho College, Tokyo) belonging to the Nichiren sect visited India and after visiting various Buddhist shrines, had 'made' some inscriptions and inscribed sentences, not only perhaps at Kanheri, but possibly at some other places also, which he visited in the course of his tour.

(4) Before Prof. Oka, another Japanese gentleman, Bishop Asashi Nichi Myo, visited India about fifty years ago, but he does not seem to have left any inscriptions behind him, and his style of writing does not at all resemble that of the inscription.

(5) Regarding the opinion expressed by Mr. Muchhala in his note that looking to the date of Nichirin, viz., 12th century, a disciple of the philosopher himself may have visited India and that the inscription may be very old. Rev. Ehara does not subscribe to this view. No doubt an immediate disciple of Nichiren, named Nichiji, intended to visit India and had travelled through Manchuria, Mongolia, and Tibet, but he is said to have perished in the jungles of Tibet before reaching India.

This inscription is published in the *Journal* in order to prevent future misunderstanding about its antiquity by visitors to the caves.—Edrs.]

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF MAHOMEDAN LAW. BY ASAF A. A. FYZEE, M.A. (Cantab.), Bar-at-Law, Professor, Government Law College, Bombay. Published by HUMPHREY MILFORD: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS. pp. 44. 1931, Price Re. 1-4-0.

In attempting to place into the hands of law students of the Indian Universities an Introduction to the Study of Mahomedan Law, Mr. Asaf Fyzee has produced an invaluable brochure on the subject. An average student knows ever so little about the surroundings in which the so-called "Mahomedan Law" arose and this lack of knowledge presents to him difficulties in both understanding and interpreting it. To meet this need the author undertook this work but happily he has achieved much more.

Mr. Fyzee, being both an Orientalist and a lawyer, has acquitted himself of the task with credit. Clearing up the tangle of theories regarding the fundamentals, historical, social and religious, on which this law is based, he has succeeded in giving us a clear insight into the development of the science of jurisprudence in Islam. To a serious student of *Fiqh*, the conciseness and brevity which is a merit if the purpose of the book is kept in mind, comes as a disappointment. Creatively inspiring are some of the theories that have been touched, but something more about the *Qur'ān* and development in the third century of the Hijra would not have been amiss. The imperfect transliteration of Arabic words and names is conspicuous in a scholarly work of this kind, but this may be due to a shortcoming in the Press rather than carelessness on the part of the author.

This introduction is perhaps the first of its kind in dealing with the Shī'ite notions of law. The study of the further bifurcations of these notions giving rise to the Bohra and the Khoja schools is very interesting, and we hope that Mr. Fyzee will follow it up further.

M. B. R.

TRILOCHANA PALLAVA AND KARIKALA CHOLA. BY N. VENKATA RAMANAYYA, M.A., PH.D. Printed and Published by V. RAMASWAMY SASTRULU & SONS, 292, Esplanade, Madras, 1929.

This booklet is an attempt to show the historicity of Trilōchana Pallava and all his doings. It is regrettable that the author should have undertaken this enterprise for he has naturally not succeeded. To obtain his end he has sacrificed all rules of internal and external criticism. In spite of all the efforts of the author, the impartial reader, after reading the book, is fully convinced that Trilōchana Pallava, though originally perhaps a historical person, yet finally, as he is now presented in the Telugu tradition, becomes a purely mythological hero.

H. H.

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JASAHARACARIU OF PUṢPADANTA (PUFFAYANTA ?) critically edited with introduction, etc., BY DR. P. L. VAIDYA, M.A., D. LITT. and published in the KARANJA JAIN SERIES BY THE KARANJA JAIN PUBLICATION SOCIETY, KARANJA, BERAR, INDIA, pp. 188. 1931. Price Rs. 6-8 or 10 shillings and 6 pence.

In these days when the recently discovered Apabhraṃśa literature is engaging the serious attention of Sanskrit scholars, it is but natural that scholars like Dr. P. L. Vaidya should come forward to bring out critical editions of rare Apabhraṃśa works. The literature in this language appears to be pretty vast. It seems, in the first instance, to have been cultivated by the Jain Śrāvakas who, as is evident, were not generally allowed or encouraged to study the sacred Prakrits or to write in them. It was, for a long time, the language of the masses and as such was considered as "degraded" as the very name Apabhraṣṭa suggests, by the learned Pandits of Jainism who as a rule belonged to the order of monks. It is only after the beginning of the second decade of centuries of the Christian era that the Jain monks appear to have cast off their prejudice against this language and begun to write in it. But by this time it was no more 'the language of the masses' as the Vernaculars had taken its place, and had almost become a classical



language so that the Jain monk-pandits did not consider it derogatory to handle it. Besides its inherent beauty must have appealed to them by the time.

Puṣpadanta, the author of the Yaśodharacarita, was also a layman. He lived in the 10th century A. D. at Mankhed, under the patronage of Bharata, the minister of Śubhatuṅgarāya of the Rāṣtrakūṭa dynasty. He was the author of two or three other works written in Apabhraṃśa. He had several titles such as "Abhimānameru" and others, but "Gandharva" was surely not one of them. The name Gandharva does occur twice or thrice in the body of the work, but as has been rightly shown by the learned editor, he was merely the author of a few supplements which he added to Puṣpadanta's work at the request of his patron in Saṃ. 1365. Gandharva has clearly mentioned this fact though the passage in which it is mentioned is omitted in certain MSS. and has thus misled several scholars into the belief that Gandharva was only an appellation of our author. They were probably confirmed in this their erroneous belief owing to the existence of a Puṣpadanta, the Gandharva, author of the Śivamahimnastotra, among the Hindus. It is however, sufficiently clear that Puṣpadanta, son of Keśava, was different from Gandharva, son of Kṛṣṇa (Kanhaḍa).

Gandharva tells us (IV. 30, 13) that the portion which he added was composed in the Paddhati metre. This is true of all passages mentioned under (b) on page 17, except IV. 23, 24, 27 and 31. The metre of these last mentioned Kaḍavas is not Paddhati but Pādākulaka. A line in the Pādākulaka metre contains 16 Mātrās irrespective of the letters of which they are made up, while in Paddhati there are certain restrictions; cf. Hemachandra, Chandonuśāsana (N. S. P. Bombay, 1912) p. 25b, line 14 and p. 26b, line 6ff. But even here, though these restrictions are necessary according to the authors of Kavidarpaṇa (MS.), Chandahkośa (MS.) and Piṅgala (N. S. P. edition I. 102), Hemacandra distinctly says (p. 43a, line 9ff) that they are not observed in Prakrits and particularly in Apabhraṃśa (Iha refers to the Apabhraṃśa metres as he tells on p. 35a, line 16, that the metres beginning with 'Utsāha' are usually the Apabhraṃśa

metres). Puṣpadanta, on the other hand, has employed not merely the Paddhati metre for his Kaṇavas, but also the Madanāvatāra (I. 16, 17 ; II. 16, 17 ; III. 13, 27), the Vitāna (I. 10) ; the Pañktikā (I. 13), the Bhujāṅgaprayāta (I. 18 ; IV. 17), the Citra (III. 2 ; 15), the Sragviṇī (III. 3), and the Vibhāvārī (III. 16). Of these, the Madanāvatāra alone is a Mātrāvṛtta, the others are Varṇavṛttas. For their definitions, cf. Hemacandra p. 33b, line 3 ; p. 5a, line 4 ; p. 5b, line 10 ; p. 7b, line 16 ; p. 12a, line 9 ; p. 7b, line 17 ; and p. 8a, line 17. In addition to these the author composes his Kaṇavas once in the Ṣaṭpadī (I. 15) and once in the Dvipadī (III. 1) metre. This Ṣaṭpadī has two halves, each containing three lines having a common rhyme, and respectively consisting of 10, 8 and 6 Mātrās. The Dvipadī in III. 1 consists of two lines with 28 Mātrās in each. In each line the Yati occurs after the 16th Mātrā and the usual Gaṇas employed are 4+5+5+2 ; 4+3+5. This type of Dvipadī is further generally used by the author at the beginning of each Kaṇava in the IIIrd and the IVth Sandhis (the only exceptions being IV.4 and 8) where it is of the Karpūra type and IV. 23-31 where there is no Dvipadī at all. He does not employ a Dvipadī at the beginning of the Kaṇavas in the first two Sandhis. We may even add here that the Ghattā or Dhruvaka employed by the author both at the beginning of a Sandhi and at the end of each Kaṇava is either a Ṣaṭpadī consisting of two similar halves each containing three lines, or a Dvipadī (cf. Hemacandra, p. 38a, line 13ff.). Thus the author uses the former in Sandhis I, II and IV while he employs the latter in Sandhi III. The lines in each half of the Ṣaṭpadī Ghattā in the Ist and the IVth Sandhis contain respectively 10, 8 and 13 Mātrās while those of the Ṣaṭpadī Ghattā in the IIInd Sandhi contain 6, 6 and 12 Mātrās only. The lines in each half are of course rhymed. The Dvipadī Ghattā in the IIIrd Sandhi is of the Karpūra type ; each line has 28 Mātrās with the Yati noticeable at the 15th Mātrā (see Hemacandra p. 43a, line 15ff.).

In his introduction Dr. Vaidya ably discusses the MSS. material at his disposal and attempts to fix the date of the author. He also gives the story of the book and shows how popular it was among the Jainas. As a help to the understanding of the text, he gives

an exhaustive glossary and very few notes, where 'knowledge of technical terms of Jain philosophy is presumed in the reader.' The text, of course, is ably edited and all important variants noted in the footnotes. We feel indebted to Dr. Vaidya for giving us this fine edition of an important work in Apabhraṃśa Literature. One naturally expects some discussion regarding the *form* of the Apabhraṃśa contained in the Yaśodharacarita of Puṣpadanta and its probable connection with the Marathi language, more particularly so when Dr. Vaidya himself has raised the expectation (intro. p. 13, para. 2). A discussion of the metre also would have been useful. Perhaps Dr. Vaidya intends to do these things in his introduction to the 'bigger work' of Puṣpadanta (intro. p. 13). Another glossary of technical terms of Jain Religion and Philosophy would have also been most welcome since the work is not meant *only* for the students of Jain Religion and Philosophy in whom alone the knowledge of these can be legitimately 'presumed.'

H. D. V.

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CODE CIVIL DE LA RÉPUBLIQUE DE CHINE. Livre I. Des Principes généraux. Livre II. Des Obligations. Livre III. Des Droits réels. Suivis des Lois de mise en vigueur. Traduits De Chinois par Ho Tchong-chan. Introduction de Foo Ping-sheung. Préface de Son Exc. Hu Han-min. Imprimerie de l'Orphelinat ZI-KA-WEI près CHANGHAI, 1930. Pp. XXX and 194.

The Yuan Legislature has followed Japan and the countries of Europe in codifying its civil laws. The volume, sent to us through the courtesy of the president of the Yuan Legislature, consists of a short introduction by M. Foo Ping-sheung, the President of the commission appointed for the codification of civil law, followed by 3 parts of the code itself, dealing respectively with General Principles, Contractual Rights and Obligations, and Rights to Property. Then follow the laws "de mise en vigueur."

Codification in China dates back from the earliest times and begins with the Tcheou-li, which was a collection of rules in the

form of a ritual, prescribing the relations of the individual to his family and to the state. These rules were revised a number of times, and in 1646 they were published under the Tsing dynasty under the title of *Ta tsing lu-li*. This again was re-published from time to time under the Mandchous, and finally under the title of *Ta tsing hien-hien hing-lu*, in 1910, its publication just preceded the fall of the Mandchou dynasty. However useful this code might have been to the China of old, the China of the 20th century found that this codified law was entirely insufficient: decisions were needed on various complicated questions, which arose from the ramifications of modern commerce and civilization and which the contact with the West introduced into China. Already in 1904 in pursuance of an Imperial edict the draft of a "Code of Commerce" was taken in hand. This code closely followed the general lines and phraseology of the Japanese and German codes of 1896. After the proclamation of the republic and the abdication of the last Mandchou Emperor, the Republican Government took up this work of giving a new code of laws to China. After a number of mushroom commissions had tried their hands at drafting, the committee which is the author of the present code was appointed on the 20th October 1928. After 2 years of strenuous work it submitted the draft to the Council of State for approval. The first three books of the Civil Code came into force from February 10, 1930.

In the code itself the influence of the writings of Dr. Sun Yat Sen is strongly felt. Many of the provisions have a democratic and socialistic bias: an attempt has been made, in the words of the writer of the introduction, "to assure a better and more equitable distribution of riches amongst individuals" (p. xxvii). For this purpose "the less fortunate elements amongst the population are protected against the excesses which they would certainly suffer if the very strict laws of right were strictly applied in all cases without distinction." Thus, article 218 provides that damages granted for breach of contract may in certain cases be reduced, if the amount of damages would seriously affect the resources of the defendant. Article 318 gives the tribunal authority to order payments by instalments by the judgment debtor. Similarly other

articles are inspired "by the same desire to protect the equitable interests of the unfortunate debtor."

These experiments in legislation are interesting. It is doubtful, however, whether by the mere enactment of such laws it is possible to protect the interests of the poorer litigants. It may well be that increasing the scope for the exercise of judicial discretion would cause only a greater strain on judicial impartiality,—perhaps not, in the unsettled China of to-day, at its best for resisting temptation to the misuse of power.

However that may be, the attempt is interesting, and it will, no doubt, be watched with the same amount of interest as all the other experiments of this unfortunate and unsettled country have been.

The book is well printed and the index is comprehensive.

S. F. B. T.

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YOGA: Personal Hygiene: Scientific Yoga Series. Vol. II. By SHRI YOGENDRA. Pages 300. 1931. Post Box 481, Bombay. Price Rs. 10.

Happiness has been, and will ever be, the quest of humanity. All our sciences, knowledge, philosophy and activities are directed consciously or unconsciously towards the attainment of that goal. Long experience has now shown, that, try as you may, any amount of energy spent on the external world alone can rarely bring real happiness to the seeker who has not got a healthy body and a healthy inner man. Health is the first essential of happiness, the seeker of which has ultimately to turn to his own self for it after a long and hopeless search outside.

Hygiene, sanitation, prophylaxis, natural living and many other similar things, all aiming at better health for man, are questions of to-day; and in these days of the brotherhood of cultures, the ancient heritage of India claims that the Indian Yoga system is a scientific method of reaching the goal of happiness.

There has been a great misunderstanding in the west regarding

Yoga. By many it used to be understood to be magic, jugglery or some pseudo-supernatural trickery. During the last few years much has been done in India and abroad to dispel this erroneous conception; facilities for practical and scientific observations have become available to seekers in the field, and a number of books on the subject have been published. The present book, which is the second volume, and the first one published, out of the projected 12 volumes on Yoga, will considerably help in showing Yoga in its correct perspective. Yoga is not any magic, nor is it solely concerned with achieving states of ecstasy. According to our author, it aims at "a perfectly harmonized and well-balanced course of physical, mental, moral and spiritual culture."

The author studied Yoga practices under Paramahamsayogi Madhavdasji, for a number of years and also studied ancient Indian literature on that subject at first hand. He has started a class at Bulsar (India) for giving practical instructions in Yoga on scientific and practical lines. We learn from the preface written by Dr. Fox to this book that during a visit to America he convinced a number of medical men by his practical demonstrations in an Institute, established by him there, that a number of ailments and diseases could be cured by the methods of Yoga.

The present volume treats of personal hygiene in Yoga. The other volumes in the series will treat of the history of Yoga, mental hygiene, psycho-physiology, Yogic practice, Yoga therapeutics, synthetic Yoga, &c. When completed, the work is expected to be a good contribution to the subject in English, though the Yoga explained in the book will seem to be Yoga adapted to modern science and utilitarian thought rather than to the old orthodox Yoga. The published volume is divided into 12 chapters and gives directions as to the care of the different parts of the body and the different Yogic methods recommended to keep them fit. The methods are treated in the light of modern science and hygiene. The volume is well-illustrated, and the presentation of its subject is simple, scientific, yet popular and lucid, so as to enable any careful student to understand the subject easily.

N. K. B.



BOMBAY HISTORICAL CONGRESS : First Session, Bombay, December 1931.

From the Bombay Historical Society, we have received three pamphlets (1) A guide programme, (2) The address of Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, the President of the Congress and (3) Guide to the Historical and Archæological Exhibition arranged by the Bombay Historical Society at the time of the Congress.

The programme of the Congress was an interesting one and some important papers were read. The Exhibition impressed upon the visitors the importance of Archæology and Art in the interpretation of Indian History. The Presidential address was a survey of the progress of Indian Historical Research in general and during recent years in particular.

Every year more and more material is being made available to Historical Research Scholars, and in addition to the work of the Indian Archæologists, Antiquarians and the Government Archæological Department, a number of Societies have been founded of late and doing much work in Historical Research. A number of documents have been published privately by Government or with their help. The Peshwa Daftar, The Factory Records, the East India Company's minutes, are some of the very valuable publications. The Bombay Historical Society which has worked in co-operation with the Bombay Historical Research Institute have sponsored a number of important publications on Indian history, especially South Indian. We hope that with the increased historical sense in India and with the help of the new material that is being made available every day, our knowledge of Indian history will make rapid progress.

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POURINGS OF A STRUGGLING SOUL. By R.V. SHAH. Pp. 28 and 119.

Published by the Author, Sheth Mansukhbhai's Pole, Kalupur, Ahmedabad, India. Price Re. 1-8.

The reader of this volume of poems will get an idea of the working of a Hindu mind characteristic of the Vaishnavite School and a knowledge of the emotions of that mind.

# TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ . . . . . a	औ . . . . . au	ठ . . . . . ṭh	भ . . . . . bh
आ . . . . . ā	क . . . . . k	ड . . . . . ḍ	म . . . . . m
इ . . . . . i	ख . . . . . kh	ढ . . . . . ḍh	य . . . . . y
ई . . . . . ī	ग . . . . . g	ण . . . . . ṇ	र . . . . . r
उ . . . . . u	घ . . . . . gh	त . . . . . t	ल . . . . . l
ऊ . . . . . ū	ङ . . . . . ṅ	थ . . . . . th	व . . . . . v
ऋ . . . . . ṛ	च . . . . . c	द . . . . . d	श . . . . . ś
ॠ . . . . . ṝ	छ . . . . . ch	ध . . . . . dh	ष . . . . . ṣ
ऌ . . . . . ḷ	ज . . . . . j	न . . . . . n	स . . . . . s
ए . . . . . e	झ . . . . . jh	प . . . . . p	ह . . . . . h
ऐ . . . . . ai	ञ . . . . . ñ	फ . . . . . ph	ळ . . . . . ḷ
ओ . . . . . o	ट . . . . . ṭ	ब . . . . . b	

◌ (Anusvāra) . . . . . ṁ	× (Jihvāmūlīya) . . . . . ḥ
◌ (Anunāsika) . . . . . ṁ̐	≍ (Upadhmānīya) . . . . . ḥ
: (Visarga) . . . . . ḥ	₹ (Avagraha) . . . . . ,

# TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

## ARABIC.

ا . . . . . a	ز . . . . . z	ق . . . . . q	ـَ . . . . . i or e
ب . . . . . b	س . . . . . s	ك . . . . . k	ـُ . . . . . u or o
ت . . . . . t	ش . . . . . <u>sh</u>	ل . . . . . l	ـَ . . . . . ā
ث . . . . . <u>th</u>	ص . . . . . s	م . . . . . m	ـِـي . . . . . i, e
ج . . . . . j	ض . . . . . d	ن . . . . . n	ـُ . . . . . ū, o
ح . . . . . h	ط . . . . . t	و . . . . . w	ـِـي . . . . . ai
خ . . . . . <u>kh</u>	ظ . . . . . z	ه . . . . . h	ـِـو . . . . . au
د . . . . . d	ع . . . . . c	ي . . . . . y	silent t . . . . . h
ذ . . . . . <u>dh</u>	غ . . . . . <u>gh</u>	ء . . . . . ʾ	
ر . . . . . r	ف . . . . . f	ـَ . . . . . a	

## PERSIAN.

پ . . . . . p	چ . . . . . <u>ch</u>	ژ . . . . . <u>zh</u>	گ . . . . . g
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**JOURNAL**  
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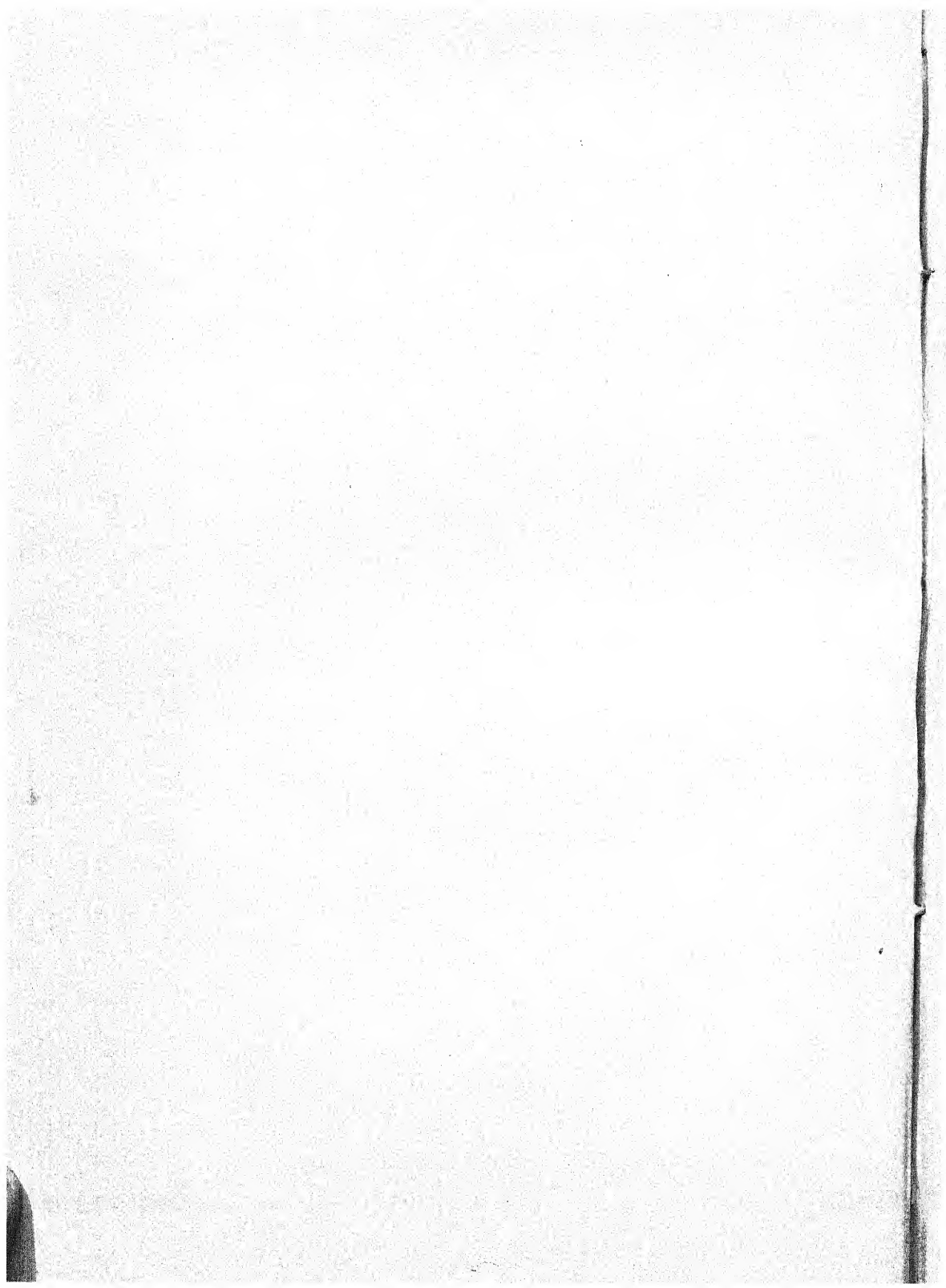
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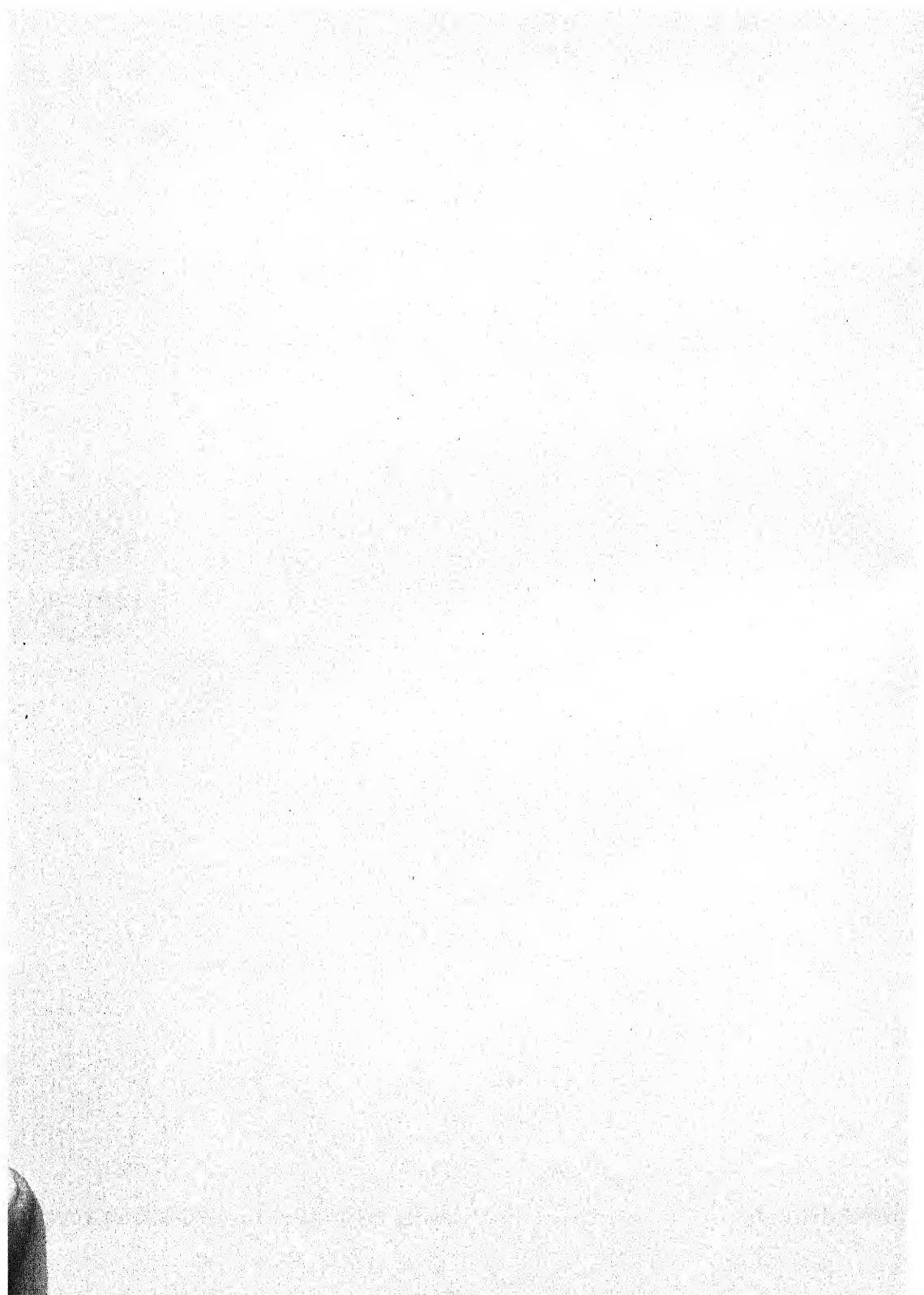
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# JOURNAL

OF THE

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M.S.

VOL. 9

1933

Nos. 1 & 2

## RAMA KAMATI AND THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

BY SIR CHARLES FAWCETT.

[*N.B.*—The references in the foot-notes are to the following books, unless otherwise stated :—

*Anderson.*—The English in Western India.

*Campbell.*—Materials, &c., Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. 23.

*Douglas.*—Bombay and Western India.

*Edwards.*—Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island.

*Malabari.*—Bombay in the Making.

F.R., L.B., O.C., and B.P.P. refer to records in the India Office.]

The name of Rama Kamati was conspicuous among the Indian inhabitants of Bombay for nearly 50 years at the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th century. His memory chiefly survives on account of his trial for high treason and other misdemeanours by Governor Boone and his Council in 1720.<sup>1</sup> This afforded a contrast with his previous high position that had a sensational effect for some time. Thus Phipps, who succeeded Boone in January 1722, wrote in 1723 that "everyone of us I believe are

<sup>1</sup> An account of his trial and the connected circumstances is given by Malabari, pp. 328-354. This is largely based on Philip Anderson's comments on the trial in his article *A Chapter in the History of Bombay, 1708-1725*, in the *Bombay Quarterly Review*, (1856) Vol. III, pp. 48-52. The main relevant documents are also reproduced by Campbell, vol. I, pp. 144-150.

sensible that the downfall of Rama Comattee and his Family in the manner it was brought about, is still so recent in people's memorys, that the same is constantly objected as a reason why people of property come not to seek an Assylum under this Government from almost the universall oppression of those around us." <sup>1</sup> In other words his fate was prejudicial to the good name of Bombay. But his prior history (especially the mode in which he achieved his great position and influence) is a matter of interest, on which little light has hitherto been thrown. The main purpose of this article is to add information, which the writer has elicited from records in the India Office, though for the sake of completeness it includes some already known.

So far as I am aware, the first mention of his name in the Bombay records occurs in July 1680. In June of that year a serious coinage fraud had been discovered. No less than 2,350 false *pagodas* <sup>2</sup> had been obtained from the town of Chaul<sup>3</sup> and passed into circulation in Bombay. Under prompt and effective pressure the Shroffs <sup>4</sup> concerned got the false *pagodas* exchanged for good money. New regulations were also framed, under which the number of Shroffs allowed to change money in the Bazar was limited, and those selected had to give security that they would change only "good coins and such as are allowed to pass on the island." The Consultation entry about this continues:—

"To which intent four of the most ablest Shroffs were made choice off, who gave in security accordingly, and to prevent any abuses that may be put on the treasury by bad money being paid in by any person"—for a considerable number of false *pagodas* had been found in the treasury—"it was thought highly necessary that an understanding and able

<sup>1</sup> Secret Consultn. of 23 February 1728, Bombay Public Proceedings (henceforth called B.P.P.), Vol. 6, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> A gold coin current in Southern India, generally reckoned as equivalent to 3½ rupees.

<sup>3</sup> A town on the coast of the Kolaba District, about 30 miles from Bombay, as the crow flies.

<sup>4</sup> Hindu money-dealers.

Shroff should be appointed to attend thereon, and soe *Ordered* that Rama Comaté should be taken into the Hon. Company's service for to attend on the Treasury, being an able Shroff and an inhabitant of very good repute to whome a convenient sallary should be allowed as hereafter shall be thought fitt."<sup>1</sup>

This post of Treasury Shroff was one that he held for fourteen years. The pay cannot have been more than about 25 Xeraphins or some Rs. 20) a month; but it gave him opportunities of advancement, of which he clearly avail himself. The position was regarded as a responsible one, and "Ramajee Comettes Shroff" figures in a list of "Staff Officers at Bombay" in 1684.<sup>2</sup> He did not, however, confine his activities to his work as Shroff. In particular he rendered valuable service during the Sidhi's invasion of Bombay in 1689-90,<sup>3</sup> as we learn from the following passage in a letter from President Harris to Cooke, the Deputy Governor of Bombay, on 30th June 1690:—<sup>4</sup>

"On the Island is honest Ramajee Comattee, an old trusty servant of the Rt. Hon. Company, and one that has stood by them on the Island all the Warrs and has been very assisting on all occasions, not only in procuring men but encourageing them to fight the enemy &c. He is one the Generall<sup>5</sup> had a great esteeme of for his good services, and knowing him to be a great sufferer by the Warr, promised him encouragement but we need not tell you this, supposing you know him better then most of us. But those that know him give him a very good character, Wee desire you will give us your opinion about him, and after

<sup>1</sup> F. R. Bombay, Vol. 2, pp. 42-44, 46 and 47—Consultns. of 27 & 28 June and 12 & 13 July 1680.

<sup>2</sup> O. C. 5178.

<sup>3</sup> For an account of this invasion see Anderson, pp. 245-9 and Edwardes, Vol. 2, pp. 83-5.

<sup>4</sup> F. R. Surat, Vol. 92, p. 104 and O.C. 5717.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.* Sir John Child, who in 1684 was appointed by the Co. "Captain General of all our forces by sea and land in the North of India," and was consequently thenceforth always addressed and referred to by the title of "General."

discourse with him advize us what you think wee ought in charity and honour to doe for one that deserves soe well as he ; for his oarts &c. wee hear were outt and spoyled because of his serveing us."

In addition to this agrioultural damage, Rama suffered in person. The Diary of the Siege, under date the 14th February 1690,<sup>1</sup> records—" This day Ramojee Comattee Shroff was wounded in the Legg by one of our Shells which broke as soon as fyred out of the Mortar." He must, therefore, have been in the firing line and this indicates some courage on his part. In spite of his losses he was evidently well-off at this time,<sup>2</sup> possessing garden-lands and engaged in money-lending. Thus we find that one Mullah Boppagee (Bapaji), a batty merchant, had been imprisoned in Bombay for some debts owed to " Rammagee Comatee and Mr. Devenish " <sup>3</sup> and Harris ordered his release, as he deprecated arrest or imprisonment for debt in the absence of a Court of Judicature.<sup>4</sup>

The President's recommendation for Rama's official advancement had, however, no result for four years. Bombay was then in a very depressed condition—the revenue for instance had fallen from 62,500 to 17,000 Xeraphins, chiefly because of the destruction of the palm trees, which then formed the main source of agricultural income.<sup>5</sup> Sir John Gayer, who became Governor in 1694, saw the necessity of remedying this ; and one of the steps he took for this purpose was the appointment of Rama Kamati as Overseer-General of the Company's revenues upon the Island. In this capacity, he had control of all the " Purvoes " or Parbhu clerks, and other inferiors.<sup>6</sup> This clearly shows the confidence that was felt in his abilities : and at the same time June 23, 1694) his military services were recognised by his

<sup>1</sup> F. R. Bombay, Vol. 3, Diary at the end of the Book, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Thus the Bombay Council in February 1687 reported that they believed him to be " a moneyed man," *Forrest's Selections*, i p. 155.

<sup>3</sup> He was a factor in the Co.'s service at Bombay.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of 4 Aug. 1691, F. R. Surat, Vol. 93, p. 95. The Court of Judicature was in abeyance from 1689 to 1718.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Anderson, p. 273.

<sup>6</sup> Campbell, iii p. 282.

appointment as Muster-Master General of all the Hindu soldiers.<sup>1</sup>

The Consultation entry about this<sup>2</sup> is worth reproduction as it shows the high esteem with which he was regarded :—

“ Rama Comotin petitioning that we would take into our consideration how faithfully he had served the Rt. Hon. Company in the late warrs, and several years before and since, and how little sallery he had had for his service, the promises was duely considered, and to our knowledge what he did alleadge was truth ; the same was proved by a certificate under the late Generall Child and Council’s hands which said late Generall did severall times promise him that if he did survive the war that he would gratify him answerable to the meritt of his service. Now weighing all this and considering of what import it might be for our Rt. Hon. Masters’ interest for the future that such persons who have soe eminently served them should be rewarded agreeable to their meritt for example to others, It was ORDERED that said Rama Comotin should be made Muster-Master Generall of all the Gentues &c. black souldiers belonging to the outguards upon this Island att the sallery of 30 Xs. per month.

And whereas we find that there is very great occasion to appoynt some person to supervise the Purvoes of the Company’s revenues on this Island and that no person on the Island hath more knowledge of the Company’s affairs than Rama Comotin hath, nor noe person like to serve them

<sup>1</sup> Campbell, iii p. 197. Hindu soldiers were first employed by Gerald Aungier at the time of the threatened Dutch naval attack on Bombay in March 1673, when 500 Rashboots (Rajputs) were raised ; but after the failure of the project, they were disbanded: F. R. Bombay Vol. 1, pp. 26, 27, 39. In 1684 the Co. authorised John Child to raise two companies of Rajputs, but owing to objections made by Child they were not engaged: L.B. Vol. 7, p. 277, and O.C. 5206. The Sepoys here referred to were recruited during the Sidhi’s invasion of 1689-90 (Bombay Consultn. of 24 May 1695, F.R. Bombay Vol. 4, p. 74 ; O.C. 5727 ; Bombay letter of 30 June 1690, O.C. 5717). They continued with variations as to numbers till the establishment of the Bombay Army, the well-known “ Marine Battalion ” being authorised in 1769 (Campbell, iii p. 151).

<sup>2</sup> F. R. Bombay Vol. 4, pp. 6, 7.



so faithfully, it was also ORDERED that the said Rama Comotin should be made Overseer Generall of all the Rt. Hon. Co.'s revenues at the sallery of 40 Xs. per month,<sup>1</sup> and accordingly commissions were granted<sup>2</sup> to empower him for the execution of both the aforementioned Trusts, and it was also ORDERED that his brother Lolla Comotin<sup>3</sup> should succeed him in office of Shroff of the Treasury."

Thus Rama managed to keep up a connection with the Treasury, which subsequent records show lasted till his downfall.

His military office probably did not involve very heavy duties. It is mainly evidenced by monthly entries such as the following :—

"Ramajee Comotin and Dorab Nanaby, having brought in their Muster Rolls of the seven Jentoe Companyes, whose abstract amounted to 2,936 Xs. we ordered a bill to be drawne on Mr. John Gayer for the same."<sup>4</sup>

"The Rolls of the Gentue souldiers for the preceeding month being this morning brought in, and the abstracts duly examined and approved of, a bill was ORDERED to be drawn on the Rt. Hon. Co.'s Treasury, for the amount (of) Xs. 3793, payable to Rama Camoty and Dorab Nanabhy."<sup>5</sup>

He would probably, however, have to take part in checking irregularities and frauds, such as are mentioned in the next quotation :—<sup>6</sup>

"On the complaint of Capt. James Hanmer that Ramajee Annat and Cresnajee his son Subedars of two Companyes of Gentue soldiers appointed to be continually

<sup>1</sup> It appears that Rama also got a commission on all collections of revenues: Co.'s despatch of 21 Feb. 1718, para. 17, L.B. Vol. 16, pp. 415, 6.

<sup>2</sup> These are reproduced by Campbell, Vol. 3, pp. 197 & 282.

<sup>3</sup> I have not come across any other mention of this brother. He may have been Raghu, father of the Narayan, who petitioned the Council in 1728 (see p. 24 *post*). If so, he appears to have died in 1702.

<sup>4</sup> Consln. of 1 Aug. 1698, F.R. Bombay Vol. 5, second book, p. 67.

<sup>5</sup> Consln. of 24 May 1703, F.R. Bombay Vol. 5, third book, p. 32.

<sup>6</sup> Consln. of 29 Jan. 1715, B. P. P. Vol. 4.

employed at the Works of the Great Breach of Mallabar hill,<sup>1</sup> have been very remiss and negligent in their Dutys a great while, tho' frequently reprimanded, in suffering said Soldiers to absent themselves from their work or to make voyages in Country Boats and Shybars<sup>2</sup> tho' still in the Company's pay, and making false musters by others appearing only on muster day: Taking the same into consideration and unwilling to permitt such abuses without Censure, Agreed that said Subadars with their Coys. be broke and dismist the Co.'s service and that Capt. Hanmer see the same executed and no pay allowed this month of January, which was performed accordingly."

Rama's other office must have been a more responsible one. As already mentioned, Bombay lands were in those days mainly planted with cocoanut trees, and there was comparatively little batty, or rice cultivation. He had had experience of the former kind of farming, as he had leased the trees on Old Woman's Island for some 15 years.<sup>3</sup> He had probably also farmed batty-lands through tenants, as he did in 1706 when he took over "the lands called Puckerawoll lying near Mazagunn towards Bombay," in order to increase their cultivation.<sup>4</sup> In December 1694 he was authorised to farm all the oarts and batty ground belonging to "Moormen," who had assisted the Sidhi when he invaded the Island, "and to make the best advantage he could thereof for

<sup>1</sup> This was the "Great Breach" at Mahalakshmi, which was eventually stopped by the Hornby Vellard. Its construction lasted for about 100 years (1680-1780), see Campbell, iii, p. 648 and my note in B.B.R.A.S.J., Vol. vii, (Aug. 1931), pp. 21 & 22. The work was actively going on at this period; and soldiers, as well as convicts, were employed on it. It was explained, however, that the former were practically labourers, who were given a military appellation in order that effective discipline might be maintained: Bombay letter of 10 March 1725, para. 65, in Vol. I of "Bombay Letters Received."

<sup>2</sup> This was a kind of coasting vessel, cf. Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, Vol. 2, p. 175, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Surat letter of 16 Aug. 1691, F.R. Surat Vol. 93, p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> Consln. of 14 March 1706, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 178. Puckerawoll probably represents Pakhadi (hamlet) Vol., which was part of the Mazagaol estate (Campbell, Vol. 2, p. 458).

the use of the . . . . . Co.”<sup>1</sup> The lease of Butcher’s Island, then called the Island of Cocoanuts or Robin the Butcher’s Island,<sup>2</sup> used to be put up to auction annually, and Rama or his son Durga was the highest bidder for several years.<sup>3</sup> In 1706 his ortas, &co., were valued at 15,017 Xs.<sup>4</sup> He considerably increased his agricultural ventures in 1709, obtaining a lease of all the Co.’s trees on the Island (with a small exception) for three years.<sup>5</sup> A return by the Vereadores shows that the number of trees involved was 18,875.<sup>6</sup> Rama in 1712 alleged that he was a loser over the contract, but consented to a renewal of the lease for nine years at a reduced rental.<sup>7</sup> The extent of his commitments in 1719 is shown by the following account of the rent he owed the Co.:—<sup>8</sup>

“31st July. Rama Commatee on account Oart Rent for sundry Oarts rented by him for nine years as per Consultation of the 25 September 1712 at 2 larees<sup>9</sup> per tree the (first) six years and the 3 last at 2½ larees per tree, the Oarts being survey’d contains as follows *viz.*,

<sup>1</sup> Campbell, Vol. 1, p. 104. Sir John Gayer and his Council had held proceedings, in which the question of liability to confiscation for assisting the Sidhi was enquired into, see Bombay letter of 11 Feb. 1695, F.R. Bombay Vol. 11, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Campbell, Vol. 1, pp. 438, 9, gives reasons for thinking that “Butcher” is really a perversion of the Portuguese name for the island—Putachoes (properly Puteças), which in turn was derived from the Marathi name, Bhatiche Bet. The English name may have led to its supposed connection with a real or mythical butcher called Robin, especially as cattle used to be kept on the island for the use of Bombay.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.* in 1705, 1706 and 1707: Conslns. of 15 March 1705 and 20 March 1706, B.P.P. Vol. 2, pp. 154 & 179, and Consln. of 27 Sept. 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Consln. of 25 April 1706, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 217. A Xeraphin generally was worth about 12 annas, though in 1713 it was ordered that it should pass for no more than half a rupee: Consln. of 19 Oct. 1713, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

<sup>5</sup> Consln. of 25 Aug. 1709, B.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 33.

<sup>6</sup> Consln. of 24 Dec. 1709, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Consln. of 25 Sept. 1712, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Bombay Journal of 1718-19, p. 233.

<sup>9</sup> A laree was then worth about one-fifth of a rupee.

In Mahim Coconut trees 13236, viz.,

5587 in sundry Oarts belonging to the Padre Superior  
at Bandura.

2571 of the Padrees of Parell

5078 of confiscated Estates

13236

2259 in Bombay.

15495 at  $2\frac{1}{2}$  larees per tree and per Annum Rs. 7747.2.7

One Oart at Parell

363 trees at per Annum .. .. 180

One at Old Womans Island

556 trees at per Annum .. .. 120

Batty grounds at Bombay produoing yearly 22

mora 18 para 5 adla at 152.40 per morah .. 354.2.3.

Mallabar Hill at per Annum .. .. 36

8438—35 "

The last entry relating to Malabar Hill is interesting: its subsequent use as a fashionable residential quarter could scarcely have been visualized.

Rama, however, farmed other things besides land. A letter of 5 February 1687 mentions his bidding for the "Tobaaco Rent" and his punctuality in payment.<sup>1</sup> Though the Bombay Tobacco farm was put up to auction every year, he seems to have secured it continuously for many years, and the records of 1706 give a strong hint that his influence enabled him to put off other competitors. We read that, after the farm had been put up more than once without resulting in any bid, except on a condition that was held to be prejudicial,

" the Secretary askt 2 or 3 times the severall Casts of people present to make known the Reason why they had not offered for said Tobacco Farme and what they was inclined to propose (but they) made no reply, at which the Generall (Sir Nicholas Waite) sayes he was not surprized haveing bin informed yesterday that a Merohant at Mahim (of) Bramin or Banyan Cast, Person unknown to him,

<sup>1</sup> Forrest's *Selections*, i p. 155.

declared he came from thence last Tuesday the 26th Inst. with intention to give 27,000 Xs. or more for said Tobacco Farme if could not be obtained for less, but was Threatned and discouraged by Ramajee Comattee to proceed therein, and this day after wee arose and dismiss the company that appeared in the (Castle) Hall Ramajee Comattee by the mouth of Girderdass Broker offered first 21,000 then 22,000, 4,550 less then lett last year: The Generall Recommends to you Gentlemen maturely to deliver your Opinions whether 'tis not the Co.'s Interest to keep said Farme in their hands and thereby disipate such plain Combinations in Wrong and Prejudice to the United Trade as seems to have bin in all the Revenues, which after a deliberate debate (was) Resolved (accordingly) ....".<sup>1</sup>

Two caste-fellows of Rama, *viz.*, Dolba Bandari and his brother Vissu, who are described as "accute landed Merchants at Mahim" were appointed to manage the Farm.<sup>2</sup> This attempt to break down the "combination" had, however, little success. Six months later, upon a complaint of watering the tobacco, which was substantiated, the two managers were dismissed and fined a sum fixed as equivalent to 25 per cent of that "wrongfully extorted from the Inhabitants."<sup>3</sup> The Farm was then put under the management of the Vereadors,<sup>4</sup> but this resulted in a fall of profits.<sup>5</sup> Probably in consequence of this it was put up to auction again in March 1707 and was secured by Rama for his two sons Durga and Balkrishna, he being the only bidder.<sup>6</sup> He

<sup>1</sup> Consln. of 18 March 1706, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 191.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> Consln. of 19 Sept. 1706, B.P.P. Vol. 2, pp. 29-31. On 18 Feb. 1724 this fine was held to have been too severe and most of it was remitted: B.P.P. Vol. 5, second diary of 1724, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> The Vereadors corresponded to Village-officers and were a survival from the Portuguese time: thus the Vereadors of the city of Bassein were among the signatories to the Deed under which Humphrey Cooke obtained possession of the Island. As to the origin of the name see Da Cunha, *The Grigin of Bombay*, p. 119 and Malabari, pp. 465, 6.

<sup>5</sup> Consln. of 27 March 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 2, pp. 148, 9.

<sup>6</sup> Consln. of 24 March 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 144.

continued to hold it at any rate up to 1714,<sup>1</sup> and again in 1719-20 up to the time of his trial.<sup>2</sup>

But Rama, as befitted one with a surname (Kamati) that primarily meant "Revenue-farmer,"<sup>3</sup> did not confine himself to the Tobacco business. In 1706, for instance, he also farmed the Customs of Bombay and Mahim in partnership with Mr. John Vandnuren, the Postmaster.<sup>4</sup> No one else presumed to bid against him, and he managed to get certain Ferry rights included, although these had already been separately leased.<sup>5</sup> Sir Nicholas Waite gave voice to his suspicions in the discussion about it as follows:—

"(It) is very plain to me as (it) has bin (for) Months past (that there are) untoward Combinations in wrong and prejudice to the Co. in their Revenues in Generall, which as (I have) often declared I have and shall acquiesce unto (only) till the Court of Managers' fixt Establishment so variously reported shall come out of England to Bombay."

This last sentence had reference to the reduced establishment of the Co.'s covenanted servants in Bombay, which then numbered only six, including the two Members of Council.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Constln. of 24 March 1708, B.P.P. Vol. 3; constlns. of 21 March 1709, 15 March 1711, 14 March 1712 and 17 March 1713 in B.P.P. Vol. 4. The record of Constlns. for 1714 is missing.

<sup>2</sup> Constln. of 5 Feb. 1719, B.P.P. Vol. 4; see also the mention of his Tobacco Farm in Constln. of 26 Feb. 1720, Campbell, Vol. 1, p. 144, and Malabari, p. 331. It was evidently a profitable business: thus the profit in 1706-7, when the farm was managed for the Co., is shown as Xs. 22,328 (Constln. of 27 March 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 149). The monopoly was also strictly guarded, and any tobacco unauthorisedly imported was liable to confiscation (Constln. of 18 Feb. 1707, Vol. 2, pp. 122, 3).

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix to this Article.

<sup>4</sup> The Co. in 1688 directed the Bombay Council to "erect a post-office" at Bombay: L.B. Vol. 8, p. 550. A vernacular history of Bombay states that postal arrangements were introduced in 1694, and this reference to the Postmaster shows that they were in existence at any rate in 1706. This goes against the surmise of Edwardes, ii, 372, 3, that no special postal organization started till about the middle of the eighteenth century.

<sup>5</sup> Constln. of 26 March 1706, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 189.

<sup>6</sup> Constln. of 21 May 1706, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 245, and Constln. of 19 Sept. 1706, *ib.* p. 34. Aislabie and Goodshaw were the two members of Council.



This hindered executive control of the Customs by Co.'s servants, one at Bombay and another at Mahim, as had been the rule since Aungier's time.<sup>1</sup> The farming of the Customs was, however, found to be prejudicial to the trade of the Island. Accordingly in March 1707 those at Mahim were put under an Englishman as before, and it was ordered that "in like manner shall Ramajee Comattee the Co.'s Shroff, for want of Co.'s servants, at present manage the Customs. . . . at Bombay, where every act may be better inspected then 'tis possible being done at Mahim, should the direction of the Customs be there appointed under Gentues."<sup>2</sup> He was at the same time put in charge of the Arrack Farms of Bombay and Mahim,<sup>3</sup> so that he had the running of no less than five of them,<sup>4</sup> in addition to his other numerous activities. The Arrack Farms were, however, probably not congenial to him, and his connection with them ceased after 1708-9.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand Rama evidently liked the authority and profit that he derived from control of the Customs, and in August 1717 he persuaded President Boone and his Council to let him farm them again, by offering 5,000 Rs. over what they had brought in the previous year.<sup>6</sup> The question was fully debated and the reasons for this step are given at length; but presumably its continuance was not considered desirable, as at the end of the year the Co.'s servants again took over the Customs.<sup>7</sup> The position of "Customer"—as the Customs-officer was then styled—was one of some dignity; and on the day that Rama took over the office he invited Boone and his Council to a dinner at the Customs House, where the President presented him with a horse and a *sur-paw* "for his greater credit and incouragement."<sup>8</sup> This was an

<sup>1</sup> Thus the two "Customers" or Customs-officers of Bombay and Mahim had to preside over the two Benches of Justices under Aungier's orders of 2nd Feb. 1670: F.R. Surat Vol. 3, pp. 39, 41, and Malabari, pp. 146, 7.

<sup>2</sup> Consltn. of 24 March 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Viz.* Tobacco, Bombay Customs, Bombay and Mahim Arrack, and Butcher's Island.

<sup>5</sup> Consltns. of 24 March 1708 and 21 March 1709, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Consltns. of 9 August & 12 August 1717, B.P.P. Vol. 4, pp. 124-6.

<sup>7</sup> Consltn. of 31 July 1718, B.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 114.

<sup>8</sup> Consltns. of 12 Aug. & 16 Aug. 1717, B.P.P. Vol. 4, pp. 126, 9.

advance on the "six yards of fine scarlett," which were given him when he farmed the Customs in 1706.<sup>1</sup>

In addition to all this work Rama had charge of the Co.'s coining operations as Mint-Master at the Treasury. Thus we read of "Pillar Dollars"<sup>2</sup> being delivered to him in 1706 to be melted and made into Moghul rupees.<sup>3</sup> In 1712 he coins copper *Duccanees*<sup>4</sup> "as usual," and in *budgerooks*.<sup>5</sup> In 1719 he is consulted as to the issue of *abasses*<sup>6</sup> by the Treasury.<sup>7</sup> The "Treasury of Rama Comatta" was in fact a recognised part of it;<sup>8</sup> and Secretary Waters,<sup>9</sup> who was charged with breach of trust in his administration of Rama Kamati's estate, referred in his defence to "the Treasury Mint & Co., where he (Rama) and his son Baboo<sup>10</sup> presided, one as Head Mintmaster and the other as Chief Treasury Shroff until the very time his troubles commenced."<sup>11</sup> This shows that Rama managed to keep up a close connection with

1 Consln. of 25 April 1706, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 217.

2 These were Spanish dollars, bearing the figure of the pillars of Hercules.

3 Consln. of 14 Feb. 1706, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 135.

4 These presumably derived their name from the Deccan, i.e., the Table-land between the Eastern & the Western Ghauts, where they were coined. The name was sometimes spelt *Dugony*, cf. Stracheys, Keigwin's Rebellion, p. 32.

5 Conslns. of 21 March & 3 May 1712, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

The budgerook (Portuguese, bazarucco) was a coin of a low denomination and varying metal, see Yule's *Hobson-Jobson* (1903) p. 121.

6 These were Persian coins, so named after the Shaha Abbas I (1587-1629) and Abbas II (1642-1666) cf. R.S. Poole, *coins of the Shahs of Persia*, pp. 21 and 26.

7 Consln. of 16 March 1719, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

8 It is thus mentioned in an account of 3 July 1712 as to the coining of Duccanees in B.P.P. Vol. 4.

9 He was Chief in Persia, when various charges were brought against him, and was recalled to Bombay to answer them (Consln. of 11 Oct. 1728, B.P.P. Vol. 6). They resulted in his dismissal (Consln. of 24 Jan. 1729, B.P.P. Vol. 6).

10 This was Balkrishna : Cf. Conslns. of 19 March 1725 and 22 Dec. 1727, B.P.P. Vol. 6, where he is referred to as "Baboo Comatee."

11 Consln. of 17 Jan. 1729, B.P.P. Vol. 6.

the Treasury, and he was generally referred to as "the Co.'s Shroff,"<sup>1</sup> although he had resigned that office in 1694.

He appears indeed to have done a good deal of Shroff's and Broker's work for the Co. Thus he accepted bills for the Co.,<sup>2</sup> and assisted in the disposal of their damaged goods.<sup>3</sup> He sometimes collected fines and other dues for the Treasury,<sup>4</sup> and acted as a mediator in arranging payments.<sup>5</sup> He supplied plate for the reception of a Persian envoy.<sup>6</sup> He also had of course his own commercial business to attend to. The India Office records naturally show only transactions that he had with the Co. Among these we find purchases of lead,<sup>7</sup> iron,<sup>8</sup> tin<sup>9</sup> and sugar,<sup>10</sup> and permission to load 18 chests of opium on one of the Co.'s ships.<sup>11</sup> Judging from the fact that he owned several ships, he must have had a big business. No less than four are mentioned as belonging to him, *viz.*, the *Blessing* of about 180 tons,<sup>12</sup> the *Union*,<sup>13</sup> the *Bombay Merchant*,<sup>14</sup> and the *Recovery*, which he sold to the Co. for Rs. 17,000 and was reported to be "extraordinary well fitted with all manner of stores."<sup>15</sup> The *Union* was commanded by an English mate, supplied by the Co.<sup>16</sup> He also had a *Ketch*, which traded with Gombroom, the modern Bunder Abbas.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* Consln. of 23 April 1706, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 214; Consln. of 18 Feb. 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 145; and Conslns. of 1 Oct. 1708 and 14 Oct. 1708 in B.P.P. Vol. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Consln. of 26 Jan. 1711, B.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Conslns. of 24 July & 25 July 1717, B.P.P. Vol. 4, pp. 114, 5.

<sup>4</sup> Conslns. of 26 Aug., 2 Sept., and 14 Oct. 1708, B.P.P. Vol. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Account as to "Cattle for the Troops," B.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 111.

<sup>6</sup> Consln. of 13 Dec. 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Conslns. of 28 Feb. 1709 & 27 Nov. 1712, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Consln. of 21 Nov. 1709, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

<sup>9</sup> Consln. of 17 Aug. 1713, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

<sup>10</sup> Consln. of 7 Oct. 1713, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

<sup>11</sup> Consln. of 11 Sept. 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 3.

<sup>12</sup> Consln. of 21 Jan. 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 94.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid* and Consln. of 13 Feb. 1707, B.P.P. Vol. 2, p. 116.

<sup>14</sup> Consln. of 18 March 1708, B.P.P. Vol. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Consln. of 9 Dec. 1712, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

<sup>16</sup> See f.n. 13.

<sup>17</sup> Consln. of 20 April 1709, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

Rama was frequently consulted about agricultural matters. Thus in October 1709 he and the Matteraes<sup>1</sup> were ordered to survey the produce of the Co.'s Batty grounds, and on their report the cultivators were allowed an abatement of rent.<sup>2</sup> He took part in a similar order of abatement in October 1717.<sup>3</sup> In 1713 there was a scarcity of grain owing to the Portuguese having prohibited its export from their territory, and the price of batty had risen so high that several of the labouring class had forsaken their dwellings and gone into the Portuguese country. Rama reported this to the Council and got a grant of 50 morahs of rice from the Co.'s stores, for distribution to the poor inhabitants at a reduced rate.<sup>4</sup>

He must for some time have had regular duties of this kind, for he was one of the five Vereadors<sup>5</sup> of Bombay, and in that capacity was one of the signatories to an agreement of 1711,<sup>6</sup> by which landholders bound themselves to pay an annual tax of 15,000 Xs. in lieu of their liability to Militia service.<sup>7</sup> The Vereadors were periodically elected,<sup>8</sup> and Rama was the only Hindu among the 10 officiators at Bombay and Mahim, who are named in the agreement. The estate-owners were mostly of Portuguese origin, and this was naturally reflected in their representation.

The Vereadors had judicial duties to perform, being empowered to decide "any differences or disputes that might arise amongst the different casts of Inhabitants" residing within their jurisdiction.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I.e. the Marathi *mhataras*, elders of the community. They are frequently mentioned in conjunction with the Vereadors.

<sup>2</sup> Constn. of 4 Oct. 1709, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Constn. of 15 Oct. 1717, B.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 187.

<sup>4</sup> Constn. of 14 Nov. 1713, B.P.P. Vol. 4.

<sup>5</sup> See f.n. 4 on p. 10.

<sup>6</sup> Constns. of 28 May and 22 Nov. 1711, B.P.P. Vol. 4, pp. 54, 55, 120, 2.

<sup>7</sup> This was a liability of the tenure under which lands were held in Bombay from the Portuguese time, and had been strictly enforced by Aungier and his successors. The Vereadors complained that it was especially irksome during the warfare with Angria.

<sup>8</sup> Constn. of 25 Feb. 1726, B.P.P. Vol. 6; cf. Campbell, Vol. 3, p. 422.

<sup>9</sup> Proclamation as to the establishment of the Court of Judicature in Feb. 1718, B.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 29.

This must have entailed a good deal of work, at any rate up to the establishment of the Court of Judicature in 1718. They then became an inferior Court, from which an appeal lay to the new Court.<sup>1</sup> Rama Kamati was, therefore, a Judge, as well as merchant, broker, Overseer of the Co.'s revenues, Mintmaster, &c.

Furthermore he became a member of the Court of Judicature. His name heads the list of the four Indians appointed to the Bench of ten Justices.<sup>2</sup> The other three were a Portuguese, a Parsee and a Mahommedan. He took his seat as a Justice accordingly at the opening of the Court, with public ceremonial, on the 25th March 1718.<sup>3</sup>

Rama must now have reached the acme of his career. He had an eminent position, wealth and influence. That he retained the confidence of Boone and his Council was still further shown in November 1718, when he was put in charge of all the fighting Sepoys in the warfare against Angria.<sup>4</sup>

This is all the more remarkable in view of the disparagement that the Court of Managers in London had thrown on his employment in 1715. In their Instructions to Boone, as Governor-designate,<sup>5</sup> they directed Boone to scrutinise the sale of a warehouse to him for 500 Xs. "for we are told he is a favourite."<sup>6</sup> The continuous letting of the Tobacco Farm to him, and of the Arrack Farm to one Pasquel Barrett, also came in for condemnation,<sup>7</sup> "We are told" they said "these have so much power in the Island that nobody else dare bid"—a statement that receives support from the Consultation entries of 1706 and other years that have been cited. They again evidently referred to him among others, when they remarked:—"But what most prevents the flourishing Estate of Bombay is, we are assured, that arbitrary way of late

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> Conslns. of 31 Aug. 1717 and 4 Feb. 1718, B.P.P. Vol. 4, pp. 149 and 23; also Deed of Constitution of the Court, *ib.* p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> Consln. of 25 March 1718, B.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> Article 6 of the indictment against him, Campbell, Vol. 1, p. 146 and Malabari, p. 333.

<sup>5</sup> L. B. Vol. 15, p. 582.

<sup>6</sup> *Ib.* para. 61.

<sup>7</sup> *Ib.* para. 77.

years used of oppressing the People and cramping trade. None can buy or sell at least with freedom but such as are favourites. The rest are secretly or openly opposed, and the Inhabitants must not dare to complain, because they cant be relieved. This must be remedied.”<sup>1</sup> In their despatch of the same date to Bombay they commented on the delivery of copper and tin to Rama for coining, and prohibited his being allowed “the liberty of the Co.’s Coynage.”<sup>2</sup> It says a good deal for Rama’s personality and ability that, in spite of all this censure, he should have gained Boone’s confidence and favour as he did. Boone was undoubtedly an able Governor, who would not easily be taken in by mere appearances, however specious.

Rama’s long experience and abilities had in fact made him almost indispensable to the administration of Bombay. Thus Governor Phipps and his Council, after Rama’s trial and sentence to life imprisonment, wrote to the Co., in favour of Dolba Bandari as being “*now Rama Commatee is gone* the only person that thoroughly understands the Constitution of the General Posts on the Island and the Interest thereof with regard to our Neighbours.”<sup>3</sup> This reveals that the diplomatic must be added to the other departments, in which Rama rendered useful service to the Administration. His astuteness and high caste would no doubt make him a valuable negotiator.

The records show that he used to correspond with Angria and give information thus obtained to the Council.<sup>4</sup> In June 1718 a Proclamation was issued, “forbidding all Persons that live under the Protection of the Rt. Hon. Co. to have any dealings with or take Passes from Cannojee Angria on pain of being esteemed Aiders and Assisters of our Enemy and Prosecuted accordingly.”<sup>5</sup> Information that, in breach of this proclamation and his loyalty,

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* para. 71.

<sup>2</sup> F. R. Misc. 7A, p. 93 ; Despatch of 5 April 1715, para. 104.

<sup>3</sup> Bombay Letters Received, Vol. 1, para. 23 of the letter ; *cf.* Consultn. of 10 Aug. 1722, B.P.P. Vol. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.* Consultation of 3 Oct. 1717, B.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 165, and Consultn. of 14 Jan. 1719, B.P.P. Vol. 4, mention letters from Angria to Rama.

<sup>5</sup> Consultn. of 9 June 1718, B.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 92, and Consultn. of 17 June 1718, *ib.* pp. 95, 6.



Rama was carrying on treacherous correspondence and illicit trade with Angria reached Boone, and in February 1720 the storm broke. On the 26th of that month the Council ordered a formal indictment to be prepared, with a view to his trial by the Governor and Council,<sup>1</sup> that being the principal Court on the Island, to which appeals lay from the Court of Judicature.<sup>2</sup> The charges mainly centred round two letters alleged to have been written at his orders to Angria and to bear his seal. In one of these he advised Angria of an intended attack on the Island of Kennery; and in the second he sent him an intercepted letter from the Portuguese General of the North to Boone containing important information. In the same letter Rama suggested a night attack on the Island, with a view to the capture of the Governor, who was without any guard except "his own chamber servants." There were other charges of a treasonable, though less serious nature. He was convicted on April 11th, 1720, and the Board's sentence was that "his person be confined to prison during life and his estate forfeited to the Co."<sup>3</sup> Presumably he remained in this confinement until his death, which appears to have taken place between the 31st July of 1725 and 1726,<sup>4</sup> and not in 1728, as has been generally supposed.<sup>5</sup>

It is outside the purview of this article to discuss whether Rama's conviction was justified; nor can any one now reasonably expect to arrive at a safe conclusion on this point. There was, however, certainly evidence which, if believed, justified the verdict.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Campbell, Vol. 1, p. 144; Malabari, pp. 334, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Proclamation as to constitution of Court of Judicature, B.P.P. Vol. 4, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Campbell, Vol. 1, pp. 135, 148; Malabari, pp. 334, 5, 341.

<sup>4</sup> Thus the *Bombay Journal* for 1725, p. 144, shows a debt due from Rama Comatee, under date 31 July 1725, whereas the next year's *Journal*, p. 167, shows the same debt on 31 July 1726 as due from "Rama Comatee deceased."

<sup>5</sup> It is for instance so stated in the account of Rama Kamati taken from the *Bombay Gazette*, which is reproduced by Malabari, p. 345. The statement may be based on the date of the petition of Rama's son Durga, which was in 1728.

<sup>6</sup> Thus Rama's Secretary Govindji admitted writing at any rate one of the incriminating letters to Angria under Rama's orders, and the seal attached to it was sworn to be his: Malabari, pp. 341, 349. I gather the same applies to the other incriminating letter.

There can also be no doubt that Boone was firmly convinced of his guilt.<sup>1</sup> Boone's use of thumbscrews in an examination of one of the witnesses, viz., Govindji who was Rama's secretary, was a highly reprehensible act, done without the knowledge and consent of his Council; but this torture was used not to extract evidence against Rama, but on a side-issue whether he (Govindji) had been illicitly corresponding with friends outside his prison.<sup>2</sup> It may on the other hand have influenced evidence given against Rama, who probably had many enemies. The main question is whether the two letters produced at the trial were genuine, or had been fabricated, as alleged by Rama.<sup>3</sup> On this point Boone had some correspondence with the Portuguese Captain of the North,<sup>4</sup> which is of interest. On the 12th of May 1720 the latter wrote to Boone with reference to one Antonio Felloe imprisoned for "his infamous practice" in making a false accusation against Rama Kamati. He goes on to say—"His handwriting and the signing of his name show your Honour the falsity of his accusation against Rama Kamati, it being him alone that seeks Kamati's ruin. I have also the goldsmith that falsified the seal, bribed or induced. . . . . by some other means to do it by those who wished to satiate their revenge. . . . . What I have signified to your Honour I can prove from authentic papers. . . . ." Boone in his reply of 23rd May expostulates that he had been misinformed, "and Kamati must indeed hath had both artful and

<sup>1</sup> See his letter of 23rd May to the Portuguese Captain of the North, cited below.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bombay Quarterly Review*, (1856) Vol. 3, p. 50, and Malabari, p. 339. Edwardes, *Gazetteer of Bombay City*, Vol. 2, p. 94, and *Rise of Bombay*, p. 155, cite Anderson's remarks in the Review article as if the letter about which Govindji was questioned under torture was the one alleged to have been written by Rama to Angria and referred to in the second charge against him, whereas the letter in question was one alleged to have been addressed to Govindji and surreptitiously brought into the prison. At any rate that would be the natural impression conveyed to a reader unacquainted with the actual facts.

<sup>3</sup> Thus in the abstract of his answer to the Indictment he concludes with saying that it is easy for those who can forge letters to make a false seal also, Campbell, Vol. 1, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> Campbell, Vol. 1, pp. 154, 5.

potent friends to induce your Honour to a contrary belief. The circumstances of the seal and Captain Felloe's information are but a small part of his charge. I had good reason to be offended with his conduct and to cause an enquiry thereof to be laid before me and upon manifest proofs passed a sentence, which I am convinced the offender himself thinks mild and much less than his demerit."

Boone's opinion that the sentence was a lenient one was not shared by the Government that succeeded his and recorded the view that "Though the then President and Council might act consistently with what appeared to them, yet from the information of our people it is looked upon by the generality of the inhabitants to have been a rigorous measure."<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it may fairly be said that, if Rama was guilty of the treachery charged against him, he was lucky to escape the death-penalty that ordinarily awaits the spy who is caught out in time of warfare. As the Co. expressed it in their despatch of 26th April 1721, "Such Domestick Treachery is worse than any other because least to be suspected and gives the greatest Encouragement to an Enemy to continue hostilitys."<sup>2</sup>

Twenty-three years later the Co. reversed the conviction, with the following remarks:<sup>3</sup>

"105. We had this year presented to us by means of Mr. Laurence Parker and Mr. William Henry Draper<sup>4</sup> Authentick Copys of the Memorials of the late unhappy Rama Comattee and Govindjee his Secretary.

106. We took the same into consideration and We send you herewith our Unanimous Opinion thereupon, grounded on the evidence of the aforesaid Gentlemen and Mr. John Braddyll who voluntarily appeared before

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Quarterly Review*, (1856) Vol. 3, p. 52. I have not myself come across this passage.

<sup>2</sup> L. B. Vol. 18, pp. 608, 9.

<sup>3</sup> L. B. Vol. 25, p. 682, despatch of 5 March 1743.

<sup>4</sup> He was a covenanted servant of the Co., who was the first Mayor of Bombay and so presided over the Mayor's Court, when it was initiated in Feb. 1728: Consln. of 23 Jan. 1728, B.P.P. Vol. 6, p. 22.

us, together with the Opinions of Governour Phipps and Mr. Courtney.<sup>1</sup>

107. And being further informed that the said Rama Comattee might suffer in the valuation of that part of his Estate, which was confiscated for the Payment of his Debt to Us, which undervaluation might amount to Four thousand Rupees, We do hereby order that sum be paid to his Heirs.<sup>2</sup>

108. As we can at this Distance of time get no legal Proof concerning any other parts of his Estate, and as we would prevent vexatious Suits that may be carried on out of Revenge, We can only recommend it to you to give us an Account of any Information you may receive of that kind, and how it came to the present Possessors, that we may give out Judgment and Orders thereupon.

109. But if any of those who Counterfeited the Seal, or those who were partys to that Forgery can be Discovered, they ought to be prosecuted with the utmost Rigour as unworthy of living under our Protection, of which Forgery and the Means used to effect it, Mr. Braddyll assures us you may get a perfect Information from the Portuguese."<sup>3</sup>

Copies of the report of the Court Committee on this matter were sent out to Bombay,<sup>4</sup> but are not now forthcoming. Nor have I come across any other reference to the Memorials of Rama and Govindji that are mentioned. It is clear, however, that Parker and Braddyll had a good deal to do with this tardy acquittal, and their opinions must have had great weight with the Court of Directors. Both of them had been members of Boone's Council at the time of Rama's trial, and could therefore speak with some authority.

<sup>1</sup> He was a Member of Council and also a Justice of the Court of Judicature at Bombay for several years. He was its Chief Justice from Feb. 1722 to Oct. 1723.

<sup>2</sup> Rama's son Durga was accordingly paid this sum on 30 Dec. 1723, B.P.P. Vol. 13, pp. 362, 5.

<sup>3</sup> This was no doubt based on the allegations of the Portuguese Captain of the North, which have already been cited.

<sup>4</sup> L.B. Vol. 25, pp. 690, 1.

Parker absented himself from the trial, rightly disapproving of the use of torture by Boone.<sup>1</sup> He was, therefore, in a stronger position than Braddyll, who was a party to Rama's conviction and sentence. The latter's excuse for this change of opinion was doubtless the same as that which he put forward in regard to the similar conviction of Dolba Bandari for complicity in Rama's crime.<sup>2</sup> The record of a Consultation in 1724 about the proposed remission of the fine imposed upon him for this complicity states :—<sup>3</sup>

“ Mr. John Braddyll, a member of the then Council when the Fine of Rs. 6,000 was laid on him in Mr. Boone's time, is desired to give his opinion candidly how far in his Judgment the said Dolba Bandari was deserving thereof, to which he declares that two Evidences appearing at that time against Dolba Bandari for his keeping a criminal correspondence with Angria he could not avoid consenting to Fine him as aforesaid, but he was afterwards made sensible said Evidence had been practised with and tortured to declare what they did against him and as it does now appear to him does think he was Fined without any Manner of Reasons.”

His explanation is not a convincing one, for he was aware of Boone's use of torture on Govindji before the conviction of Rama and the trial of Dolba ;<sup>4</sup> only one of the two material witnesses was tortured, not both ; and the torture was applied not in connection with the evidence against Rama or Dolba, but on a different point. On the other hand the allegations of the Portuguese official no doubt came to his knowledge only after the two trials were over.

Both Parker and Braddyll were dismissed by Boone from the

<sup>1</sup> This seems to have set Boone against Parker. For an account of the charges against him and his trial see Malabari, pp. 291-327.

<sup>2</sup> For his trial &c., see Malabari, pp. 345-351.

<sup>3</sup> Consln. of 18 Feb. 1724, B.P.P. Vol. 5, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> It was disclosed on 27 March 1720, whereas the conviction of Rama was on April 11th, and that of Dolba on May 14th : Malabari, pp. 338, 341 & 350.



Co.'s service,<sup>1</sup> and forcibly deported from Bombay.<sup>2</sup> This would naturally colour their views against that held by Boone, who (if then alive) was not consulted by the Court of Directors. The others who gave their evidence or opinions to them had no first-hand knowledge of the matter; and the allegations of the Portuguese Captain of the North do not appear to have ever been tested. The acquittal cannot, therefore, be said to be based on satisfactory materials: it was founded on surmise rather than on any legal evidence. The question of Rama's guilt or innocence remains, therefore, unsettled; and it cannot properly be assumed (as has been done)<sup>3</sup> that Rama's conviction was obtained by false evidence.

The acquittal came too late to be of any benefit to Rama Kamati in his life-time, though his only surviving son Durga got Rs. 4,000 out of it. Durga petitioned the Bombay Council in 1728 for relief, saying that he and his family were in a starving condition.<sup>4</sup> No material help seems, however, to have been given him, and an attempt to recover outstanding debts due to Rama Kamati's estate was not very successful. The main outcome of his petition was the discovery that Thomas Waters, when Secretary, had received sums from various debtors in 1721, for which he had not duly accounted.<sup>5</sup> As he was ordered to pay these up, it is to be hoped that Durga ultimately benefitted.

The Council had not, however, entirely overlooked the claim of Rama's family to compassion. His son Balkrishna, who was

<sup>1</sup> Parker in May 1720 (Malabari, p. 323) and Braddyll on 4 April 1721, see Consln. of that date, B.P.P. Vol. 5. Their dismissal was disapproved of by the Co. in despatch of 24 March 1722, para. 82, L.B. Vol. 18, p. 249. They were restored to Council, but only Braddyll took his seat again on 23 Jan. 1723; Consln. of that date in B.P.P. Vol. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Consln. of 19 April 1721 & 20 April 1721 in B.P.P. Vol. 5.

<sup>3</sup> *Bombay Quarterly Review*, (1856) Vol. 3, p. 52; Malabari, p. 344; Douglas, Vol. 1, p. 95; Edwardes, *Rise of Bombay*, p. 155, In *Gazetteer of Bombay City*, Vol. 2, p. 94, Edwardes is more cautious and merely says "there is some ground for holding that the documentary evidence against Rama Kamati may have been forged."

<sup>4</sup> Consln. of 21 June 1728, B.P.P. Vol. 6, p. 130.

<sup>5</sup> Consln. of 23 Aug. 1728, B.P.P. Vol. 6, pp. 157-160; and Consultns. of 17 Jan. and 24 Jan. 1729, B.P.P. Vol. 6.



employed in the Treasury at the time of Rama's getting into trouble,<sup>1</sup> was subsequently made Overseer of the Co.'s Oarts or Gardens. He at any rate held this position in 1723-24;<sup>2</sup> and as he had probably assisted his father in the management of the Co.'s lands, he would have been a natural successor. The Tobacco Farm was also put under his management for the year 1725.<sup>3</sup> He died in 1727, leaving a widow;<sup>4</sup> and this may have conduced to his brother Durga's financial straits in 1728.

The above gives the main facts revealed by the records in the India Office regarding Rama Kamati's connection with the Co., though it could no doubt be supplemented by further research.<sup>5</sup> As to his personal appearance the records unfortunately throw no light. We have, however, some material for forming an estimate of his character. Let us enumerate the good points:—*Clever*—he was selected in his youth as “an understanding and able Shroff,” and his successful career supplies ample evidence of his intelligence and abilities in many directions. *Honest and reliable*—In 1687 his punctuality in payments was commended, and Bartholomew Harris in 1690 referred to him as “honest Ramajee Comattee, an old trusty servant of the Rt. Hon. Co.” *Industrious and energetic*—indeed one wonders how he found time for all his manifold duties and business. *Devout*—he built several Hindu temples, including the famous one at Walkeshwar in about 1715;<sup>6</sup> in the same year he attended the opening service of the Cathedral, an invitation that was a compliment to his personality and position.<sup>7</sup> *Courageous*—his services during the Sidhi invasion and his being put in charge of all the fighting Sepoys in 1718 clearly point to this. On the other hand he may have been *ostentatious*—thus his nephew Narayan in a petition of 1728<sup>8</sup> complained that Rama

<sup>1</sup> See f. n. 9 on p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Consltn. of 10 July 1724, B.P.P. Vol. 5, p. 92; and Consltn. of 4 Sept. 1724, *ib.* p. 119.

<sup>3</sup> Consltns. of 19 March and 4 June 1725, B.P.P. Vol. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Consltn. of 22 Dec. 1727, B.P.P. Vol. 6.

<sup>5</sup> I have not attempted to extract all the information available.

<sup>6</sup> Edwardes, Vol. 3, p. 361 and f.n. 2; Douglas, Vol. 1, p. 95.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> Consltn. of 23 Aug. 1728, B.P.P. Vol. 6, p. 159.

as their guardian after his father's death in 1702, married him, his brother and his sister "with such pomp and extravagance as was noways suitable to their circumstances and was done purely to aggrandize himself and raise his own credit and reputation," with the result that he found himself, when he came of age in 1715, charged with Rs. 14,000 on account of these weddings, nearly three times the value of his whole estate.<sup>1</sup>

As to his alleged *treachery*, his conviction was upset and we can hope the charge was untrue, especially as he had served with commendable loyalty in the time of the Sidhi's invasion.

His name deserves to be remembered for his prior history and achievements, and not only for his tragic fall from greatness, which in some respects resembled that of Cardinal Wolsey—

"And when he falls, he falls like Lucifer,

Never to hope again."<sup>2</sup>

But, to apply the words Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Wolsey after his fall, let us not dwell on this alone—let us rather—

"Say, Rama, that once trod the ways of glory,

And sounded all the depths and shoals of honour!"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the other hand Rama put him in possession of his estate without insisting on payment of this sum, and extravagance on weddings has always been common in India.

<sup>2</sup> Shakespeare, King Henry VIII, Act iii, Sc. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

## APPENDIX.

Rama's surname, "Kamati," has been the subject of discussion. Edwardes says<sup>1</sup> it 'was probably *Kamat*, to which old documents have affixed a superfluous "i".' But against this theory is the remarkable uniformity with which an extra syllable, whether it be "a", "e" or "in," appears in the spelling of the name. It is difficult to understand why this should be so, if it was represented by no corresponding sound in its usual pronunciation. Nor is there anything to support the variance of "Kamath", which appears in the note about Rama (written by the Hon. Sorabjee S. Bengallee, C.I.E.) on p. 95 of Douglas' *Bombay and Western India*, Vol. I. I sought the assistance of my friend, Mr. P. S. Datar, Translator in the Bombay High Court, to try and clear up this question; and at his instance Mr. K. M. Kumthekar, District Judge of Canara, has been good enough to write the attached note, which seems to me to be conclusive on the point. It may be added that, as Rama was a Brahmin, he had of course no connection with the Kamathis, who belong to the Bania class and who came to Bombay from H. H. the Nizam's Dominions towards the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>2</sup> According to Mr. S. S. Bengallee, Rama's ancestors came originally to Bombay from Goa in the time of the Portuguese, and this supports Mr. Kumthekar's reasoning in his note which follows.

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The surname कामत is of professional origin, from original Kanarese कामता the office of revenue farming (of some grade), whence Kamati (कामति) holder of the office. Cf. कुलकरणि कुलकरखी

Shenvis, *alias* Goud Saraswat Brahmins of Bombay island, in early British times must have been descendants of camp followers of their Portuguese Predecessors, originally from Goa.

Hence their mother tongue Konkani.

In old Konkani, which was the mother tongue of Bombay Shenvis, the word was *Kamat* or *Kamati* in singular, the final "i" being nasalised in plural.

Even now the said surname is *Kamat* in North Kanara and Bombay Presidency generally, but is also taken and written as *Kamati* in a large number of cases in South Kanara and other southern parts of the Madras Presidency.

We of the Bombay Presidency also, even now, in Konkani would call a *Kamat* as *Kamati* in vocative, e.g. अरे कामति which would be कामतीनो in honorific plural.

Thus both the "i" and the nasal at the end of the surname are explained.

<sup>1</sup> Edwardes, Vol. 2, p. 93, f.n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Edwardes, Vol. 1, p. 44. The locality Kamathipura derives its name from them.

There can be, therefore, very little doubt that "Comattee" or "Comotin" are the Portuguese or Goanese forms of "Kamati". "क" is usually spelt in Goa by "C", e.g. काकुलो=Caculo; काणकोण=Canacona; and the "o" for अ or ञ is due to Portuguese pronunciation, which is very familiar to our ears in Goa.

Therefore कामति-कॅमती or कॉमॅती Comattee or Comotin.

Even now in Goa the surname is spelt with final "in" or "im".

Hence the observation of Edwardes that the "i" at the end of the word in the old spelling may be superfluous, is not justified, as is rightly doubted in the letter in question.

That the "i" in Kamati might represent the aspirate in the surname *Kamats*, as given by the Honourable S. R. Bengallee, is also not correct.

There is no aspirate at all in the spelling of the surname as "Kamath."

That is the common modernised spelling in South Kanara and other parts of Madras Presidency, the same as the modernised form *Kamat* in Bombay Presidency. In southern parts they take "t" as representing "ट" and hence they put "th" for त. Hence "Kamath" stands for कामत् in Southern India fashion of transcription. For a pure Sanskrit word like तीर्थम् they would write theertham. Hence there is no aspirate as such in the word written as "Kamath", and hence the "i" in Kamati cannot be supposed to represent the aspirate.

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## ZU DER NEUEN MAHABHARATA-AUSGABE.

VON HERMANN WELLER.

Dem Ueingeweihten möchte das Tempo, in welchem die einzelnen Lieferungen des zum erstenmal kritisch bearbeiteten Mahābhārata-Textes erscheinen, vielleicht langsam vorkommen, wer aber die ungeheuren dem Unternehmen entgegenstehenden Schwierigkeiten, die gewaltige Masse des Stoffes und seine verwickelte Schichtung bedenkt, wird mit seiner Bewunderung nicht mehr zurückhalten, wenn er nun das stattliche fünfte Heft, das die seit 1927 erschienenen anderen schon an Umfang bedeutend übertrifft, vor sich liegen sieht. Wahrlich eine gewaltige Leistung: 129 Abschnitte, und damit etwa die Hälfte des ersten Buches, haben schon jetzt ihre kritisch gerechtfertigte Textgestalt gefunden, und wenn wir den Fortgang der Arbeiten von 1927 bis 1931 verfolgen, so haben wir allen Grund anzunehmen, dass sich die weitere Arbeit noch schneller vollziehen wird und die vollständige Bewältigung des ersten Bandes nicht mehr allzulange auf sich warten lässt. Man hat den Eindruck, dass sich der Urwald der Schwierigkeiten mit jedem Schritt der wackeren Pioniere mehr und mehr lichtet: ihr Blick sich weitet und die von dem verdienten Herausgeber, V. S. S u k t h a n k a r, angewandte Methode sich bewährt.

Dieser Fortschritt drückt sich auch in der immer weitergehenden Sichtung des handschriftlichen Materials aus. Auf der einen Seite konnten neue Handschriften herangezogen werden, so vor allem von Abschnitt 26 an ein wertvolles, mit der kaschmirischen Version verwandtes Śāradā-Manuskript, auf der anderen Seite stellte es sich heraus, dass vom dritten Abschnitt an 14 Handschriften ohne Schaden für die textkritischen Untersuchungen ausgeschieden werden konnten. Am Schluss des 90. Abschnittes (Heft 5, S. 410) berichtet der Herausgeber, dass der kritische Apparat von hier ab nur noch aus 36 Handschriften bestehe; es sind folgende: die genannte Śāradā-Handschrift, 5 Vertreter der Kāśmīrī-, 3 der Newārī-, einer der Maithilī-, 4 der Bengālī-, 9 der Devanāgarī-, 2 der Telugu-, 6 der Grantha- und 5 der Malayālam-Version. Auch das zu Anfang des vierten Heftes angekündigte gekürzte Verfahren trägt wesentlich dazu bei, einen

rascheren Fortgang der Arbeit und eine klarere Übersichtlichkeit für den kritischen Apparat zu gewinnen: einfache Schreibfehler werden übergangen oder stillschweigend verbessert, unbedeutende, z. B. die häufigeren Verbindungspartikeln betreffende Varianten einer einzelnen Handschrift bleiben regelmässig unbeachtet, falls alle anderen Handschriften der betreffenden Lesart entgegenstehen; gegebenenfalls müssen zusammenfassende Bemerkungen, wie "einige, wenige Handschriften," die Registrierung der einzelnen Lesarten ersetzen; unwesentliche Unterschiede in der Schreibung häufiger Wörter werden gewöhnlich nicht berücksichtigt, bei Eigennamen genügt eine einmalige oder zweimalige Anführung der immer wiederkehrenden Varianten. Selbstverständlich wird jede irgendwie wichtige Einzelheit wie bisher mit der grössten Sorgfalt verzeichnet.<sup>1</sup>

Die Teilnahme an der Diskussion über textkritische Schwierigkeiten seitens verschiedener Gelehrten wird von dem Herausgeber begrüsst und für seine Arbeit fruchtbar gemacht. In seinen "Epic Studies," die zum erstenmal in JBBRAS, 4, 157 ff. erschienen und nun wohl als zwanglose Annalen weitergeführt werden, sucht er gegenüber den Ansichten anderer Gelehrten seine Methode und seine Textgestaltung zu verteidigen und zu rechtfertigen, und wir haben schon wiederholt Gelegenheit gehabt, hier Proben seines reichen Wissens, seines philologischen Taktes und Scharfsinns, seiner Sachlichkeit kennen zu lernen. Dabei steht er der Kritik nicht nur abwehrend gegenüber, sondern weiss ihr auch positive Werte zu entnehmen. Aus seinen Epic Studies II, S. 191 ersehe ich, dass er M. Winternitz' kritische Bemerkungen und Anregungen besonders freudig willkommen heisst. Winternitz ist ja der Vater des grossen Plans einer kritischen Gesamtausgabe des Riesenepos und verfolgt deshalb mit besonderer Aufmerksamkeit und Liebe das Werden und Gedeihen des Werkes. Sein mit Begeisterung aufgenommener Vortrag auf dem Oxforder Kongress hat uns in klaren und schönen Worten die Geschichte, Bedeutung

<sup>1</sup> Sukthankar teilt mir mit, dass ihm nun auch die sämtlichen Kollationen übergeben worden sind, welche Geheimrat Lüders und seine Schüler auf Grund von den in Europäischen Bibliotheken befindlichen Hss. angefertigt haben.



und Zielrichtung dieses einzigartigen Unternehmens gezeigt, und so muss ein Gedankenaustausch dieses Gelehrten mit Sukthankar, wie er uns z. B. in *Indologica Pragensia* I, 61 ff. und *Epic Studies* II entgegentritt, von grösstem Werte sein. Leider kann hier aus Raumgründen auf eine Erörterung der dort behandelten, Allgemeinen und Einzelnes betreffenden Probleme nicht eingegangen werden. Aber zu Walter Rubens scharf kritisierender Arbeit "Schwierigkeiten der Textkritik des Mahābhārata" (*Acta Orientalia*, ediderunt Societates Orientales Batava Danica Norvegica, vol. VIII, 1930, p. 240-256) müssen wir uns eingehender äussern, da sie die Grundlagen der Sukthankar'schen Methode betrifft.

Nach Ruben sind die von der klassischen Philologie dem Textkritiker gestellten Aufgaben hier noch lange nicht erfüllt: die Heuristik, das Sammeln und Ordnen des gesamten Materials der Handschriften und Testimonien zu einem Stammbaum ist überhaupt unmöglich, die recensio, d.h. die Herstellung des Textes des Archetypus kann zuverlässig nur in einem der vier von Ruben aufgestellten Fälle typischer Konstellationen geschehen, nämlich da, wo die nördliche und die südliche Überlieferung übereinstimmen. Die emendatio, d.h. die Herstellung des Textes des Verfassers, und schliesslich die "höhere Kritik", d.h. die Scheidung der vom Verfasser benützten Quellen, diese beiden das Werk des Herausgebers eigentlich krönenden Ziele seien nicht berücksichtigt worden<sup>1</sup>. Auch die Handschriften werden einer scharfen Kritik unterzogen und selbst die wichtige Ś-Handschrift unterscheidet sich nach Ruben nicht von den anderen. Es sei nicht möglich, "auch nur z w e i Hss. direkt zueinander in Beziehung zu setzen" (S. 242), die testimonia erlauben keine einseitige Entscheidung zu gunsten einer Rezension, ebenso problematisch sei schliesslich jedes inhaltliche Kriterium.

Das ist wahrlich ein trübes Bild der Lage, ein Bild, das geeignet wäre, weithin pessimistische Stimmungen zu erwecken. Doch so meint es Ruben wohl kaum: er sagt ausdrücklich (S. 240), er wolle die Prinzipien der formalen Philologie in m ö g l i c h s t g r e l l e r

<sup>1</sup> Neuerdings werden die Aufgaben der Textkritik von den klassischen Philologen etwas anders formuliert, s. Gercke-Norden, *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, 1. Bd., 3. Aufl. 2, 1.

(von mir gesperrt) Beleuchtung vorführen, er selbst stellt fest, dass man ein Recht hat, "an einen Archetypus zu glauben und der Tradition einiges Vertrauen entgegenzubringen" (S. 243), er selbst billigt da und dort Sukthankars Verfahren, zweifelt nicht an seinem philologischen Takt und anerkennt, "dass die Forschung jetzt durch Su(kthankar) ein gediegenes Fundament bekommen hat" (S. 256). Und dass die Schwierigkeiten, mit denen die Textkritik—nicht nur des Mahābh., sondern fast der ganzen Sanskrit-Überlieferung—zu kämpfen hat, gross sind, ist ja leider eine von allen unangenehm genug empfundene Tatsache. Nun aber lese man auch Sukthankars Entgegnung, der das dritte Heft seiner *Epic Studies* gewidmet ist. Es darf hier als unwiderlegliches Ergebnis festgestellt werden, dass es ihm gelungen ist, die trüben Wolken zu zerstreuen. Er hat sich nicht nur höchst glücklich verteidigt, sondern auch die Eigenart des handschriftlichen Materials und der Textüberlieferung an treffenden Beispielen so klar beleuchtet, dass seine Methode nur gerechtfertigt erscheint. Er hat damit die genaue Prüfung der Textverhältnisse, deren Aufschub Ruben in der Einleitung zu seiner Arbeit tadelt, zu einem guten Teil geleistet. Wohl ist es berechtigt, dem Textkritiker die Ideale der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft vor Augen zu stellen, aber wir glauben mit Sukthankar, dass die Textkritik des Mah. ein Problem *sui generis* ist, dem gegenüber selbst jene altbewährten Methoden versagen müssen oder wenigstens nur zum teil angewandt werden können. Auch hier sollte zwar, wie in der klassischen Philologie, "die Herstellung eines dem Autograph (Original) möglichst nahekommenen Textes" (Gercke-Norden, Einl. in die Alt. 1. Bd., 3. Aufl. 2,1) als Aufgabe gelten. Aber wie sonderbar nehmen sich diese Worte aus, wenn sie auf unseren Gegenstand angewendet werden! Die Paradoxie beruht auf dem Begriff Original. Das Original einer Sanskritdichtung und das einer klassischen Schrift sind zwei ganz verschiedene Dinge. Von Autographen will ich überhaupt gar nicht reden. Und handelt es sich um einen klassischen Schriftsteller, etwa um Cicero, so steht vor dem Geist des Forschers eine ganz bestimmte Zeit, ein ganz bestimmter, sprachlicher, literarischer Typus, eine mehr oder weniger scharf umrissene Persönlichkeit: im indischen Fall verwirren Jahrtausende den Blick, und der rückwärts fliegende Geist findet keinen Ruhepunkt in einer klar

gezeichneten Epoche oder vor der charakteristischen Gestalt eines in greifbarer Lebendigkeit dastehenden Autors. Und vollends im Mahābhārata! Wo ist das Original einer ganzen Literatur, wo soll man es nur vermuten? Wo ist der Autor? Wenn sich aber der Begriff des Originals so verflüchtigt, kann man auch nicht von einem Archetypus reden. Auch hier dürfen wir uns nur an die scharfe Definition des Wortes halten, um sofort einzusehen, dass wir nichts damit anfangen können. Archetypus ist die Vorlage, bei der die erste Spaltung begann (Gercke-Norden, Einl. 2, 2). Da das Mah. zuerst nur mündlich verbreitet wurde, konnte es nicht ausbleiben, dass man es schon frühe verschieden rezierte. Als es dann endlich schriftlich fixiert wurde, spiegelten schon die ersten Niederschriften die Ungleichmässigkeiten der Überlieferung wieder. Sukthankar muss diese Unsicherheit gefühlt haben, als er in seinen *Epic Studies* III, S. 276 das Verwandtschaftsverhältnis der verschiedenen Versionen graphisch darzustellen versuchte: die Wurzel seines Stammbaumes ist ihm nicht der Archetypus, sondern das "Ur-Mahābhārata"; dagegen bezeichnet er die vermutlichen Vorlagen der einzelnen Versionen als Archetypi, und nimmt für die Vulgata einen Zwischen-Archetypus an. Am besten ist es, den Begriff des Archetypus in der Textkritik des Mah. überhaupt beiseite zu lassen; denn er gibt nur zu Verwirrungen Anlass. Und wenn es einen Archetypur im eigentlichen Sinn je gegeben hätte, er liesse sich nicht mehr feststellen: die ganze Überlieferung des Sammelwerkes und die weitgehende Kontamination der Hss. würden es unmöglich machen. Dazu kommt, dass die Bücher (Parvan) des Grossen Epos auch einzeln überliefert wurden: eine Erscheinung, die an die Gepflogenheit erinnert, bestimmte Dramenakte einzeln aufzuführen und niederzuschreiben.

Was ist also hier möglich? Ich möchte das Ziel der mühevollen Arbeit so formulieren: kritische Darstellung der Tradition. Hieraus ergeben sich u. a. die Ausscheidung wertlosen Handschriftenmaterials und unechter Teile, d. h. offenkundiger Zusätze, ferner die Darbietung der Lesarten, und die anhangsweise Beifügung grösserer Interpolationen (Appendices). Unsere Formel schliesst aber auch die Forderung ein, bei aller Schärfe der Kritik möglichst konservativ zu verfahren. Auf diese Weise wird ein Text erarbeitet.

der die von Lüders vorgezeichnete Aufgabe erfüllt, die älteste Form des Textes herzustellen, die auf Grund des handschriftlichen Materials zu erreichen ist (Deutsche Literaturzeitung 1929, Heft 24, Sp. 1143). Das handschriftliche Material selbst aber bringt es mit sich, dass wir zu einer älteren Textform als etwa der vom fünften Jahrh. n. Ch. nicht vordringen können. Hiemit ist der Ausscheidungstätigkeit eine Grenze gesetzt. Wollte man etwa unter Berücksichtigung religionsgeschichtlicher Erscheinungen in der Zeit vom 4. Jh. vor bis zum 4. Jh. nach Chr. Ausscheidungen vornehmen, so würde man ins Uferlose geraten und schliesslich gerade das zerstören, was das Mahābhārata ist, ein in vielen Jahrhunderten zusammengewachsenes Sammelwerk und Symbol indischen Wesens. Die an das Mah. sich anschliessende Einzel- forschung über bestimmte Abschnitte, Sagen, Anschauungen u.s.w. ist dadurch durchaus nicht behindert: sie muss selbstver- ständlich ältere und jüngere Schichten schärfer trennen.

Fragen wir uns, ob die neue Mah. Ausgabe eine kritische Dar- stellung der Tradition gibt, so können wir nur mit einem ent- schiedenen Ja antworten. Die fünfte Lieferung, die nunmehr erschienen ist, kann als ein weiterer, schlagender Beweis für die Richtigkeit und Fruchtbarkeit der Methode gelten.<sup>1</sup> Die nördliche Rezension hat sich hier wieder bewährt, und, was dieses Heft besonders eindrucksvoll macht, ist gerade die Behandlung der zahlreichen Interpolationen, die mit überlegener Meisterschaft durchgeführt ist. Die hier aufgenommenen Abschnitte enthalten u. a. die Früh- und Jugendgeschichte der Panduiden. Die Vulgata und besonders die südliche Rezension zeigen hier, wie Sukthankar in seiner Editorial Note 4 nachweist, unverkennbare Einschübe, wirres, sekundäres Zeug, unnötige Wiederholungen, Machwerke von Epigonen. Halten wir diese mit den auffallenden, in Editorial Note 3 besprochenen Hinzufügungen zu der Śakun- talā-Episode u.a. zusammen, so tritt der Charakter der beiden Rezensionen immer klarer zu tage. Auch in Heft 5 wird man bei vielen unter den Text gesetzten Stellen finden, dass ihre Aus- scheidung nicht allein durch den handschriftlichen Befund, sondern

<sup>1</sup> Inzwischen ist die sechste Lieferung erschienen, die den voraus- gegangenen an Exaktheit nichts nachgibt.

auch durch innere Gründe gerechtfertigt ist. So enthält 930\* eine einfältige Aufzählung körperlicher Eigenschaften und ist sprachlich ungeschickt. Dem *śroṇibhareṇa* zuliebe folgt im nächsten Vers das metrisch falsche und späterer Literatur angehörende *kabarībhareṇa* (*kavarībhāra* im *Nārada-pañcarātra*!). Sehr häufig sind Interpolationen folgendem Handschriftenkomplex gemeinsam: D4 (marg. sec. m.) S : D4 hat also aus einer S-Handschrift entlehnt, und zwar gedankenlos, wie u.a. die einen derben Widerspruch zu 1, 92, 27 enthaltende Strophe 929\* zeigt. Lehrreich für die Art dieses Handschriftenkomplexes ist auch der nach 1, 96, 23 daselbst festgestellte Einschub 1002\*, dessen erste Zeile lautet: *akṣataḥ kṣapayitvānyān asaṁkhyeyaparākramaḥ*. Dieser Einschub ist identisch mit der echten Stelle 1, 96, 43 : hier aber lautet die erste Zeile: *akṣataḥ kṣapayitvārīn saṁkhye 'saṁkhyeya-vikramaḥ*. In dem eingeschobenen Verse fehlt also der in *saṁkhye 'saṁkhyeya* liegende *Alaṁkāra* : dieser ist aber sicher echt, denn in der Umgebung begegnen ähnliche Schmuckmittel öfters : so in der zweiten Reihe desselben *Śloka* : *sutāḥ sāgaragā-sutaḥ* ; 94, 38 *pauravaḥ svapuram gatvā purāṁdara-puropamam* ; 96, 31 *balinau . . . . . bala-vikrama-śālinau* ; 96, 53 *dharmātmā kāmātmā* ; 97, 5 *vividhās tvam śrūtīr vettha vettha vedāṁś ca sarvaśaḥ* ; auch 104, 21 *vaikartanaḥ karṇaḥ karmaṇā* u.s.w.

Ich habe oben dem Konservativismus das Wort geredet : deshalb billige ich sogar die Aufnahme eines an sich verdächtigen Textes, wofern er sich aus dem handschriftlichen Befund ergibt : ein Beispiel für diesen Fall scheint mir die Stelle 1, 93, 32 bis 33 zu sein. Hier muss etwas nicht stimmen. Denn 33 wiederholt nicht nur alle Gedanken der Strophe 32, sondern teilweise auch die Wörter: *śaśāpa—śaptavān* ; *vasūṁś tām—vasūn aṣṭau*. Besonders verdächtig ist das in 33 wiederholte *evam*. Dem Zusammenhang nach würden 32 und die erste Zeile von 33 genügen. Die sich in D<sup>1</sup> findende Vereinfachung ist oberflächlich :

*evam śaśāpa bhagavān vasūn aṣṭau tapodhanaḥ  
mahāprabhāvo brahmaṁśir devān krodhasamanvitaḥ.*

Hier ist der Gedanke unterschlagen, dass der Heilige sich wieder der Askese hingab. Der Einwand, es handle sich in unserem Falle um epische Breite, ist für diesen Abschnitt hinfällig ; denn hier schreitet die Erzählung rüstig fort.



An manchen Stellen ist gegen die handschriftliche Überlieferung Hiatus emendiert worden: so 91, 3 rājarṣayo āsan (warum nicht rājarṣaya?); 100, 2 niśīthe āgamiṣyati; 103, 4 kanyā anurūpā (Cæsur!); 107, 19 sicyamānā aṣṭhīlā abhavac—(nach aṣṭhīlā Cæsur!); 110, 20 mārge avīrya—(Cæsur!); 110, 28 yadi āvām u.s.w. Wie weit man mit diesen Verbesserungen gehen darf, ist mir nicht klar.<sup>1</sup> Ich glaube zwar, dass wir in Fällen wie yadi āvām sicher den alten Text vor uns haben. Aber der Fälle, wo hi, ca, api vielleicht nichts als Flickwörter zur Verdeckung eines alten Hiatus sind, gibt es viele; wo ist die Grenze, bis zu welcher wir bei der Emendation gehen dürfen? Soll man z. B. auch in 27c tyaktakāmasukhe hy āvām das Wörtchen hy streichen und mit K4 āvām lesen? Auch in 26a anye 'pi hy āśramāḥ? Bei Cæsur-Hiatus kann Nachlässigkeit Späterer vorliegen, und ab und zu mag das auch sonst der Fall sein. Einen echt vedischen, metrisch einwandfreien Hiatus haben wir in 1, 86, 1d bahūny asmin saṁprati vedayanti; hier ist nämlich bahūni asmin zu lesen!, trotzdem so anscheinend eine Silbe zu viel entsteht: solche Verse sind bekanntlich im Veda, besonders in den Upanischaden, sehr zahlreich; vgl. z. B. auch 1, 85, 2c tyajanti sadyaḥ seśvarā devasaṁghāḥ; 85, 4d bhūyaś cedānīm vada kiṁ te vadāmi; 85, 8c tām vai tudanti prapatataḥ prapātām; 85, 16a ghrāṇena gandham jihvayātho rasam ca; 85, 24a catvāri karmāṇy abhayaṁkarāṇi und b: bhayaṁ prayacchanty ayathākṛtāni; 86, 2a āhūtādhyāyī gurukarmasv acodyaḥ; und c: svādhyāyaśīlaḥ siddhyati brahmacārī u.s.w. Solche Verse entstanden besonders leicht bei einem Tonfall, wie ihn 86, 2c (das letzte Beispiel) und 85, 2c (das erste Beispiel) zeigen.

Der eine Silbe zu viel enthaltende, sicher alte Vers 1, 69, 40ab retodhāḥ putra unnayati naradeva yamakṣayāt bietet das Beispiel eines Hiatus, der durch Diphthongisierung der beiden Vokale—a und u—ausgeglichen wird.

Noch einige Kleinigkeiten. 138 Colophon, Lesart jagṛtuha? Wohl Druckfehler für jatugṛha. — 139, 2ab: Dieser Vers kehrt fast

<sup>1</sup> Fälle von regelrechtem Sandhi-Hiatus wie in 750\* (nach 1, 74, 12)—kāma iva—gehören wohl nicht hierher. Sukth. schreibt mir (8.11.31) zu der Hiatus-Frage: "I may say that I have emended *only* when the MSS. are in wild confusion, showing that the hiatus was deleted *after* the bifurcation of the versions." Also auch hier anerkennenswerte Zurückhaltung Sukthankars!



gleich wieder in 4ab : hier dürfte ein Fall vorliegen, wo ein dreizehnliger Śloka (2) durch Streichung zu verbessern ist ; 2ab wäre also zu beseitigen. — 146, 6<sup>b</sup> : pravakṣāmi, lies pravakṣyāmi ?

Nur kurz sei noch bemerkt, dass das fünfte Heft sich auch durch reichen Bilderschmuck auszeichnet : die sehr schönen farbenfrohen, in die Stimmung des Epos trefflich einführenden Illustrationen können auch dem fernstehenden einen Hauch der indischen Wunderwelt vermitteln.

Tübingen.

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## A LEGENDARY HISTORY OF THE BOHORAS

BY DEWAN BAHADUR KRISHNALAL MOHANLAL JHAVERI

It is always interesting to watch the interplay of legend and history; it is the more so in the case of India, where one can pursue the intermixture of Hinduism and Islam.

There is a *risāla* in Arabic in the collection of Arabic, Persian and Urdu Manuscripts—Arabic Manuscript No. 4—of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay Branch, called *Risālat at-tarjamat az-zāhira li firqati Bohrat al-bāhira*.<sup>1</sup> Though not very valuable from a historical point of view, still the *Risāla* furnishes a good instance of this interplay of history and legend and intermixture of Hinduism and Islam.

The subject-matter of the manuscript adds one more to the tangle of legends already existing about the first appearance of Islam in Gujarat for proselytising purposes. It has not been published so far, and although it possesses little historical value, it was thought that its publication might place additional material in the hands of those interested in the subject.

### *Translation.*

#### A SHINING TRACT CONCERNING THE BRIGHT SECT OF THE BOHORAS.<sup>2</sup>

All praise is due to God, for there is no Divine grace regarding obedience (to Him) but by His help, and no guidance except through His showing the way. May benediction and peace rest on His holy house, His merciful gate, the place where (divine) inspiration

<sup>1</sup> See Fyzee's *Descriptive List*, pp. 7-9 of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, New Series, Vol. III, Nos. 1 and 2 (1928).

<sup>2</sup> The *Risāla* is in Arabic, and below it in the text is a Persian rendering of it. The translation given here is of the Persian version of the Arabic *Risāla*. My friend, Mr. Asaf A. A. Fyzee, has gone over both the Arabic original and the Persian version and made some additions to my translation, for which I am very thankful. He hopes to publish the *Risāla* in the original Arabic later on.

descended and His book, the holy and auspicious name of which is Muḥammad, the Chosen One, who has been sent (with a message) for all those living in Arabia and for those who live outside Arabia (meaning, the rest of the world). And may benediction (also) rest on the pure Imams descended from him (the Prophet) and the venerable and great persons and the companions who have taken refuge by taking hold of his skirt and on them who have followed (the path of) that Chief.

After this praise and benediction, this is an account, which I have composed about the circumstances of an intelligent community known in the land of India as Bohoras (بُھَرّاء) and (as to) what their affairs are, and (as to) what their origin is, and (as to) from whom they have received the gift (blessing) of (the acceptance of) the path of the true faith, which is Islam, and it is a religion, which if a person follows it, he enters the house of safety (Paradise).<sup>1</sup> Thereafter I say that this community, (is) strong as regards its exterior and rightly guided as regards its interior. They (its members) say their prayers regularly. They also observe the fast. They follow (in their actions) the Book and the practices of the Sunnat. They do not disobey any injunctions of the Book and the Sunnat, and they do not violate even one usage (out of its usages). They have got their own guide who shows them the way, and he is appointed for inviting them always to travel towards the true path. He orders them and he prohibits them. They obey his orders and avoid what he prohibits. They do not refuse obedience to him. They do not transgress his orders, when he appears or goes away. It is for this reason that in reality that guide is their headman and has authority over them. Verily there is a proper law and constitution amongst them to which he (the Chief) enforces obedience and by which he trains (keeps in check, controls) the members of his sect. And when that guide according to whose advise they do their business and to whom they refer all their affairs, dies, they appoint another in his place, who shows them the way like the one who showed it, and who strives

<sup>1</sup> The Persian version omits the very important words whereby the author states 'and I am one of them, may God never make me secede from them', showing that the author is a Bohora.

after their welfare like the (other) one who did so. It is possible for one from amongst his sons to be appointed in his place if he has got proper qualifications for being so appointed. But if there is any one amongst scholarly strangers, who is more learned than his sons then a learned stranger is appointed. After he (the Dā'ī) has appointed another,<sup>1</sup> they hasten to obey him, and become obedient to his orders, without demur or difficulty and without casting doubt on his (the appointer's) behests.

Such is their creed and such is their way. This is their religion and (this is) their custom. In former times, verily, they were following ways other than this way in Gujarat, till there came to them a person from the Yemen, a friend from amongst the friends of God, a pious man from amongst the pious men, perfect in knowledge and deed, free from faults and errors. His name was Mawlānā 'Abdu'l-lāh al-'Ābid. He was possessed of nobility and dignity. He found his way into Cambay and came across a man whose name was Kākā (uncle) Kīlā and whose wife's name was Kākī (aunt) Kīlī, in a field. Kākā Kīlā asked that person, 'Who art thou and from where hast thou come?' That person replied, 'I come from the country of the Arabs and I want to drink water. If you have got water, give it to me.' He said, 'O brother Arab, indeed there is a well here but the water is very deep and salt; who can therefore bring (you) sweet water?' That person said, 'Where is it? Take me to the well', and he took him to the well. That person then said, 'If sweet water begins to flow from this well, will you join my creed and leave yours?' He said, 'Yes, it is for you to bring faith unto me and oblige me by doing so'. Then that person shot an arrow into the well, that arrow struck a rock and the rock split. Water began to flow and it (stone) became shattered to pieces. The man saw this splitter of stones (miracle worker) and he was convinced that he should embrace Islam. That Walī then converted his wife in that very field, a well known place. Islam brought much good to the two of them, and with the Walī they endeavoured (to convert people) by way of gratitude.

Thereafter that abovementioned great man 'Abdu'l-lāh went

<sup>1</sup> This is the doctrine of *Nass* (نص) whereby the Dā'ī appoints his successor.

inside the town and there made manifest his intellectual miracles<sup>1</sup> which made the whole world wonderstruck (dumbfounded) and demonstrated something to the Bohoras, by which all of them became his followers. He then visited the headman of the house of worship (temple) of that town. He presented the headman with a proposition which silenced him. He made him listen to a description of miracles. Then that headman embraced Islam, and admitted his superior knowledge. He then came into Cambay. In one of their temples there was an elephant made of iron which was suspended in the air (standing in space), without the support of a pillar. The Walī made an effort to throw down that elephant. In the overthrow of the elephant was witnessed a wonderful act (miracle). Thereupon the idol worshippers repented of their (idol) worship, and they entered the path of the worship of Allāh, possessor of greatness and power.

The King, whose name was Saddar<sup>2</sup> Jayasing and who was in the city (town of Cambay), was also surprised, and became very thoughtful as he saw the great miracle. Then he asked, 'Whose deed was it in respect of this elephant who was suspended in the air (standing in space) since a long time by divine power?' They said that a traveller had come from the Yemen and that he did it and that he was inviting people to join his creed, which was the religion of Islam. He eschews all gods, excepting the Highest and he orders that idols should be broken and forbids the worship of idols. The King thereupon became very angry and called out troops to capture him. The King was brought there. When the troops approached that holy man, they saw surrounding him a big moat in which a huge fire was burning in flames. They were, therefore, unable to enter the moat, nor could they by any strategem approach the holy man. They informed the King about it. He then came forward and beseeched him and said, 'Make a way for me so that I can come to you. Thereafter, if (I find that) you follow the path of God, I will become your follower'. He then gave permission and the fire cooled down, to such an extent that

<sup>1</sup> This refers to the Bohora belief in their intellectual superiority over the other sects.

<sup>2</sup> Siddharaj.

you might say that it was no fire. The King went near him and stood there and said, 'O holy man of perfection, in reality the religion that we follow is ancient, and the religion to which you invite us is modern ; we therefore have no faith in it. Is there anything to prove that your religion is true and ours false ?' He said, 'Certainly. O King, you always bow before this big idol, and greatly respect (venerate) it, but the idol does not talk to you nor hear your prayers. It neither injures nor benefits you. But I bow before such a Great God, that from him I do not hope anything but good and I am not afraid of any one else but Him. He is living. He accepts my prayers when I pray to (remember) Him and listens to my words when I utter them, and gives ear to my complaints when I complain. By the power given to me by (this) high God I have become powerful over all things, so much so that if I desire it I can order this idol to speak, and it would speak in a language which you can understand, and will state that you are not on the right path, and it will accept my greatness and give proof of the fact that my act (miracle) was performed through (the grace of) God ; so that if you agree to accept (enter) my religion I shall make your idol speak'. The King then said, 'We agree to accept your religion if you do something to show us that yours is the true religion and ours false'. The holy man then ordered the idol and the power of speech came to it and it said, 'Here is the Walī, he is the truth, and the King is false ; he (the King) is not in the right path ; his idolatry is something which is vile'. Thereupon the King was astonished as well as those who were with him, his companions as well as his co-religionists. He made them see (the miracle) with their own eyes, and hear with their own ears, in order that they may accept the greatness of that holy man and witness the proofs he gave of truth, for the purpose of entering his religion and remain and be confirmed in obedience to him. The King could not but cut off his sacred thread, and under him all the idol worshippers cut off their sacred threads. It is said that the weight of the sacred threads cut off on that day was estimated to be 260 seers. Their religion was thus destroyed by him and religion of Islam was proclaimed. Truth came and falsehood disappeared. Verily falsehood deserves disappearance. Islam appeared and the signs of Islam were verified.



Many in the land as well as in the town of Cambay and several other places in Gujarat became Muslims. And Islam was propitious for the King whose name was Saddar (Siddharaj) Jayasing and he was also known as Bharmal. He was the first of those who entered Islam, and it was he who afterwards became the perfect agent and the excellent guide, Mawlānā Saifu'd-dīn.....and his excellent ancestors.....and he (Saifu'd-dīn) was their excellent ancestor and their great father. His son Mūllā (Mawlawī) Ya'qūb was the person to whom the affair was entrusted when Saifu'd-dīn died <sup>1</sup>. Therefore his son, Ya'qūb, was confirmed in his life time. Then a behest was received from Ya'qūb to his son, by name Mūllā Ishāq, who was brought up by him till he attained youth. Then for a time orders were received for succession amongst the sons of those who were near him (in family relationship) and for a time for those who were far off (distant) and strangers, till the time came when <sup>2</sup> the affair (the leadership—office of the Dā'ī) came to our Lord and the Guardian of our affairs, the true guide in the path of Allāh, the permanent, the one who causes affairs to flow in the right path, Saiyidnā and Mawlānā Zainu'd-dīn, may God prolong his life till the day of judgment! Now he is at present the leader of our affairs and those who are with us rely upon him and we refer to him in matters concerning our faith.

The appearance of Islam in the province of Gujarat at the hands of the said 'Abdu'l-lāh, <sup>3</sup> possessor of good actions and shining miracles and knowledge of dreaded signs which induced people.....contrary to the practice of Dā'īs took place in the auspicious A.H. 460. His place of abode was in the town of Cambay. His grave is also there. It is well known and has become a place of pilgrimage. Some of the Yemenite learned men called him Lamak ibn Mālik al Ḥamādī. Now he is the source from which he sprung (?).....that is the perfectly pious, the unique scholar Hibatu' l-lāh. Mūsā from the people of Shīrāz, and this Shīrāzī derived (his knowledge) from his father, from his illustrious ancestors, until, the ultimate source reaches one

<sup>1</sup> This passage is corrupt and cannot be read with certainty.

<sup>2</sup> This whole passage from ' the affair.....to concerning our faith ' is left out in the Persian version.

<sup>3</sup> The excellences of 'Abdu'l-lāh are omitted in the Persian version.

of the perfect companions of the Prophet, and he was Salmān, may God be well pleased with him, about whom the Prophet, (on whom may God bestow salutation and peace) had said that Salmān is one of the *Ahl-i-bayt* (People of the House). There are various high offices given to Salmān-i-Fārsī, and also greatness, specially before the Prophet, before whom none else carried such respect as he. He is one of the greatest of the companions. And 'Alī, the Chosen one, may God bestow peace on him, was asked a question about Salmān and he replied, he is one who had learnt the whole of the science, from first to last. He is a limitless ocean. He is one of us, one of the *Ahl-i-bayt*. He remains near us and his daily allowance is five lacs. All Khalifs are his equals. He gave alms and ate food earned from work done with his own hands. He never accepted anything from any one. For residence he had built a house under the shadow of which walls and trees sought shelter (i.e., he had no house, he slept under the sky). He possessed only a blanket which he spread as mattress. On one occasion when a particular community approached Salmān, while he was Commander (Governor) at Ctesiphon, and weaving baskets with his own hands, they asked him, 'For what purpose do you do this? You are a nobleman.' Then he said, 'I like that I should work with my hands for my food.' It is related from 'Ā'isha, may God show her mercy,<sup>1</sup> that she was to follow him. She (on whom be salutation and peace)<sup>2</sup> was pleading for Salmān sitting near the Prophet at night time when he left.<sup>3</sup> The death of Salmān took place in the time of Khalif 'Uthmān, God reward him, at Ctesiphon in the Hijrī Year 35. About his age there is disagreement. 'Abbās, the son of Zaid, has said that the age of Salmān is 350 years.<sup>4</sup> It is said that Salmān had met Jesus, the son of Mary, on whom be salutations. He had read the *Tawrāt*, Book of Moses and the *Injīl* (Christian Gospel).

The meaning of the word بهره (*bohra*, strictly *bohōra*) is 'merchant'. The people of Gujarat call a person who buys and

<sup>1</sup> This shows that the *translator* is a Sunnī.

<sup>2</sup> This is not in the Arabic, as the writer is an Ismaili.

<sup>3</sup> The text is corrupt here.

<sup>4</sup> The Arabic version is "and as for two hundred and fifty, there is no doubt".

sells, a *bohōra* ( بھڑہ ). It is said, that concerning this, there is another opinion. But this (explanation) is the most manifest and the best known.

When it (my narrative) has reached this stage, I close this narrative, called the illuminated narrative of the brilliant community of Bohoras, with praise to the highest God, who possesses supreme power, and with benedictions on the Prophet Muḥammad, whose auspicious name is Muḥammad the Messenger, and may they descend on his pure family. For us God is sufficient. He is our able advocate.

Finished on the 7th of Ṣafaru'l-Muḥaffar.

A.H. 1265 (A.D. 1849)

Scribe : Munshī Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn Ārā'ī.

'Saddar Jayasing' is the hero of this legend. He has figured in other legends also. He is no other than Siddharaj Jayasing (A.D. 1094-1143), the King of Gujarat, who was known for his tolerance of the religion of all his subjects, Parsi, Mahomedan and Hindu, and impartiality of treatment. Muḥammad 'Ufi (A.D. 1211) in his *Jāmi'u'l-Hikāyāt* gives the story of a poor Musalman preacher of Cambay whose mosque the Hindus had instigated the fire worshippers<sup>1</sup> of the place to destroy complaining to Siddharaj, who left his capital on a swift camel, alone, with a view to make personal inquiries, and after being satisfied that the Hindus were in the wrong, getting the mosque rebuilt at their expense after punishing their chief men.<sup>2</sup>

Siddharaj lived in his capital city of Anhilwad and not at Cambay, though the text of the legend shows him as living at the latter place. A variant of the story, however, while not changing the residential city of the King, makes the missionary travel to

<sup>1</sup> Elliott and Dowson's *History of India*, Vol. II, p. 188. 'Ufi calls them لہڑ, which would ordinarily mean Christians, but the word is used as well for fire worshippers. See also *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 512.

<sup>2</sup> Siddharaj and other Hindu Kings of Gujarat treated those early preachers with great kindness. This perhaps induced them to settle in Gujarat, chiefly in trading centres and make converts. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 26.

the capital, and it was there that the army sent to capture him encountered a wall of fire.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Fyzee in his *Descriptive List* states that the author of this document is one Hāji Ṣalāḥu'd-dīn Ārā'i, himself a Bohora, but on close examination it appears that the *Risāla* is anonymous. He is merely the scribe who has also copied out (in A.H. 1265) the *Mirāt-e-Sikandarī*<sup>2</sup> for that well known Oriental Scholar A. K. Forbes, when he was the Judge at Ahmedabad. The account of the conversion of the Bohoras given by him agrees in very few particulars with that given by the author of *Mirāt-e-Aḥmadi* in his *Khātima*. The *Khātima* is translated under the title of 'Supplement' into English by Syed Nawab Ali, M.A., and C. N. Seddon, Esq., I.C.S. (Retd.), in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. XLIII. The account appears at pp. 108-109 of that volume.<sup>3</sup> But as the rendering is 'free and in parts condensed',<sup>4</sup> it suffers in this particular case in accuracy; for that reason, a fresh translation is given below.<sup>5</sup>

#### THE SECTION OF MUSALMANS CALLED BOHORAS.

Many of them are engaged in trade, and in every city and province of India, Arabia or Persia wherever there is trade to be pursued, this community has gone and settled, but its place of origin is Gujarat. As to the cause and mode of their conversion to Islam and the reason of their being named Bohoras, various versions are current amongst the high and low (public). But the one which is worthy of belief is this, *viz.*, that their conversion to Islam was due to the guidance of a learned saint, Mullā Muḥammad 'Alī by name. His tomb is in Cambay. He is known there as Pīr Parwāz, and even now, many of the smaller (=Shī'a) faction of the Bohoras from the surrounding parts go there for pilgrimage, with offerings. At the time when the Mullā arrived in this country

<sup>1</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> This copy is Persian Manuscript No. 8 in the collection of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

<sup>3</sup> In the footnote, they refer to Enthoven's *Tribes and Castes of Bombay*, Vol. I, p. 197, *et seq.*, one of the best accounts in this connection.

<sup>4</sup> *Vide* p. 13 of the Foreword.

<sup>5</sup> Persian Text, pp. 129-31 of the *Khātima*, Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. L.

the port of Cambay was an extensive capital town, and the people of Gujarat ignorant of Islam. Their leader was a fire-worshipper.<sup>1</sup> All the people had great faith in him and were his disciples. The Mullā therefore thought out this plan, that he should first approach that saint, and pretend to be his disciple, and then with trenchant arguments, rational and revealed, drive him to the acceptance of Islam, and get him to agree with him, and then commence to show the Path to others, and convert them to Islam. With this object he passed several years in the service of the saint. He learnt their language, studied their books and acquired mastery over their science. He then gradually put the enlightened saint in possession of the truthfulness of the religion of Islam and made a convert of him. Some of the disciples followed their saint and became converts.

At last, when the minister of the Raja of the time, who was the Ruler, heard the story of the conversion of the saint to Islam, he entered his service, and elected to follow his creed and became a Mahomedan. But the saint, the minister and the other new converts kept their belief in Islam concealed, and on account of the fear of the Raja tried their best to keep it secret, till the time when according to the well-known hemistich.

Why talk of the Police Constable and the Police Superintendent? Even the King knew of it.

The news of the minister's conversion to Islam reached the Raja. Thereupon he put himself into the position of getting information about it, and one day unawares went to the minister's house. He saw him in the attitude of bowing ( رکوع ) and became angry. When the minister knew the reason of the visit of the Raja, and when he perceived the anger of the King to be

<sup>1</sup> Nawab Ali and Seddon's rendering is a "chief" saint, i.e., they read the word as کبرای and not کبرای. The latter word means a fire-worshipper. These fire-worshippers were living in Cambay, in the time of Siddharaj and were his subjects, is also plain from Ufi's account. That given in the *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 26, would seem to show as if the saint was a Hindu and thus support the rendering of Messrs. Nawab Ali and Seddon. I have taken the text as printed by them in No. L. The word کبرای may be translated as "Pagan". The Brahmin अग्निहोत्री who also tends fire perennially may be, it is suggested, included in it.



due to the suspicion of his offering *namāz* (prayers) and (therefore) bowing the body, and prostrating (touching the ground with his forehead),<sup>1</sup> grace of God favoured him and through divine inspiration he replied at once, that he was bending down and getting up in search of a serpent which he had seen in a corner of the house (room); and was making an effort to remove it; and when the Raja looked into that corner of the house, at the call of God, the Highest, he did see a serpent. He therefore believed the excuse given by the Minister, and the Raja's suspicion was removed. In the end the Raja also became a convert to Islam in his heart, but in the interests of public peace he kept his state of mind secret. When his death approached he willed that he should not be cremated like infidels but buried in accordance with the usages of the Musalmans. In short as the Mawlānā was a Shī'a all of them preferred that faith. When Patan became the capital city a large number and a great multitude of the Bohoras were living in that place.

The reason why they are called Bohoras is that in the Hindu community, even now there are many Brahmins and Banias whose surname (لقب) is *vōra*, and from generation to generation they are known and called by that surname. The body of persons that trod the high road of guidance of the teaching of Mawlānā Muḥammad Alī belonged to that section which bore this surname, or it may be that their learned saint who was first enlightened by the light of Faith (Islam) may have been a *vōra*, and therefore his followers became known by the surname of Bohoras. Other reasons which are given are weak (not worthy of credence).<sup>2</sup> God is the greatest knower of Truth.

<sup>1</sup> The words in the text are اُتَان وُخِيزَان falling and rising. Messrs. Nawab Ali and Seddon render them 'moving up and down', but the words immediately preceding are رُكُوع و سُجُود attitudes in a Muslim's prayer-offering which accord more with kneeling and rising than "moving up and down".

<sup>2</sup> (a) For a sample of such reasons see *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 24, where fanciful derivations of the word are given, one of them being Beherah, birth-place of the great Bohora missionary 'Abdu'l-lāh.

(b) The fact mentioned here that the saint who became a first convert to Islam belonged to the Brahmin or Bania caste lends support to the rendering of Messrs. Nawab Ali and Seddon.



The *Mirāt-e-Aḥmadī*, as the above extract shows, does not give the name of the Raja or his minister. However, the *Khātima* narrates several stories as to Siddharaj's conversion. They are as follows :

“Accounts of saints who have been buried in the city of Naharwalah (Anhilwad) or Patan.

*Sayyid Muḥammad Brahman.*—Sayyid Aḥmad who is known as Shaikh Jahan has stated in his book *Manāzil-ul-Awliyā*, (Resting places of Saints), which includes the account of the saints of Patan, that in the fortieth year after the commencement of the reign of Siddharaj Jayasing, Sayyid-us-Sādāt (chief of the Sayyids) Sayyid Muḥammad Brahman, after dressing in the garb of a Brahmin, entered the service of Raja Siddharaj Jayasing. He cooked his food every day and gave it to him to eat. Twenty years passed away like this. One day, it appeared to the Raja, that that man though wearing the sacred thread of a Brahmin was not a Brahmin but a Musalman. He called him in private and questioned him and said, ‘You are not a Brahmin but a Musalman.’ The Sayyid helplessly replied, ‘Yes, I am a Musalman.’ The Raja wished to throw him into fire alive, but the Sayyid at once entrusted his soul to God (gave up the ghost), and turned himself into a heap of fresh roses. The Raja called his men and ordered them to tie up the flowers in a sheet and bury them on the bank of the tank. His tomb is still existing near the Sahasra Ling Tank.”

After giving an account of two other saints—Bābā Ḥājī Rajab and Shaikh Aḥmad Dehlawī, who are said to have lived in Pātan during the reign of Siddharaj Jayasing, the author of the *Mirat* makes the following general observations about him :

“Some persons say that although Sayyid Muḥammad Brahman had converted Siddharaj Jayasing to Islam, he (subsequently) became an apostate and a renegade. According to another tradition it has been said that Haḍrat Bābā Ḥājī Rajab who had come from Rūm, in the 75th year of the reign of Siddharaj to Pātan, in A.H. 616 and died there in A.H. 670 had converted him and taught him to repeat the *Kalma-i-Shahādat* (creed of Islam), and that (thereafter) he disappeared. Some others believe that Bābā Ḥājī Rajab killed him. However, it has not been definitely ascertained whether he was converted to Islam or killed. From

information given by some yogis, the Hindus believe that Raja Siddharaj Jayasing is still alive, and that he was neither converted to Islam nor killed, but that God the Highest made him disappear. God knows the truth but the story of his disappearance cannot be believed. Any way Siddharaj Jayasing is not 'seen by men'.

Mahomedan writers go so far as to suggest that the great Jain Ācharya Hemchandra Suri, in whom Siddharaj had great faith, had also been converted. (*Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 26.)

Lieut. Connolly has published an article on Ujjain, a city with a considerable Bohora population, in Vol. VI of the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, where he gives the same story with some variations as derived from original Bohora sources. He says that 'Ya'qūb was the first of his sect to put his foot in India, having left Egypt and landed at Cambay : A.H. 532 (A.D. 1137). Egypt was then under the rule of the Fatimide Khalif, Mustanṣir Billāh. And Sadras Singh governed the Hindu kingdom of Piran Pattan then.<sup>1</sup> The Guzerat chronicles, though very confused at this period, agree better with the above date for Siddha or Jayasing of which Sadras may be a corruption was King of Anhulwara in 1094.' The narrative then proceeds on lines which have some features in common with those in the manuscript. He is said to have lived with a gardener whom he converted. Kākā Kīlā is described here as a gardener, and in the manuscript as an agriculturist. Subsequently Ya'qūb is said to have converted "the son of a Brahmin". In the manuscript, the Dā'ī is represented to have converted the head of a Hindu Temple, who must have been a Brahmin. The story then proceeds to narrate the conversion of the King (Sadras) and his two Dewans, the brothers 'Tārmall and Bārmall' 'who used frequently to visit a temple at Cambay, where an iron elephant was suspended in the air by a magnet.

<sup>1</sup> Chronologically this does not seem correct, as this Khalif died in A.H. 487 (A.D. 1095) and his grandson reigned from A.H. 524-544 (A.D. 1129 to 1149). Siddharaj reigned from A.D. 1094 to 1143. If we take A.H. 460 (A.D. 1067) to be the correct year of the first appearance of the missionary whatever his name was, then it could not be in the reign of Siddharaj. If we take A.H. 532 to be the year then it becomes possible.

The manuscript refers only to the fact of the suspension of the elephant, but not to the contrivance (*viz.*, “a magnet” as stated here), thus intensifying the miraculous powers of the worker. ‘Yā’qūb removed the magnet, and was also victorious in a contest with the Brahmins’. Instead of ‘a contest’ our author refers to the Dā’ī’s challenge to the King to make the temple image speak, in which the King lost and he won. ‘Sadras and his court, won by such a succession of miracles, embraced the religion of their author.’ Their example was soon followed by many others. The sect kept up an intercourse with Arabia and assumed the name of Vyuvuharees or Bohoras. <sup>1</sup>

Forbes’ commentary on this story is that there is a strange jumble of names and events in it. “Sadras Singh” may well be Sudera Jesingh, the name by which Sidh Raj is popularly known in Guzerat, but the two dewans, Tārmall and Bārmall, (our author refers to only one of them, Bhārmall) must be the brother of Tej Pal and Wustu Pal, the ministers of Veerdhuval Waghela. Again the story of the King’s conversion would apply better to Koomar Pal, or Udjye Pal, of whom such tales are elsewhere related. <sup>2</sup>

That Koomar Pal (A.D. 1143-74) had many Bohoras as his subjects both at Patan and Viramgam is related in Koomar Pal Charitra written about A.D. 1150, and so tolerant of religions were the two dewans, that although devoted Jains, they still built sixty-four mosques for Mahomedans. <sup>3</sup>

There is confusion as to the name of the first missionary, as there is confusion as to the year of his appearance, which is given either as A.H. 460 or A.H. 532. The manuscript gives the name

<sup>1</sup> The reason given here for their assuming this name accords with that given in the *Mirāt-e-Aḥmadī* and in the manuscript, as Vyuvuharees, mean, primarily those who keep up communication, and then traders, businessmen.

<sup>2</sup> *Rāsmālā* edited by Principal Rawlinson, Vol. I, p. 328, footnote.

<sup>3</sup> *Koomar Pāl Charitra* written in Hindi from *Koomar Pāl Prabandh* (Sanskrit) of Jinmandangani, by Shrimad Lalit Vijay and published by the Adhyātma Jnān Prasārak Mandal, Bombay (1915), p. 15 of the Introduction. They, however, seem to have punished a wealthy Muslim trader of Cambay, by name Ṣiddiq, and attached his goods.

as 'Abdu'l-lāh ; so does the footnote on p. 108 of Messrs. Syed Nawab Ali and Seddon's translation of the *Khātima* of the *Mirāt-e-Aḥmadī*. Incidentally the footnote also gives a different version of the conversion from that given by the author of the manuscript as well as that given by the author of the *Mirāt* himself. In the *Encyclopædia of Islam*, s.v. Bohoras, we find as follows :

'Some of the Shia Bohoras claim to be descended from refugees from Arabia and Egypt but the majority are of Hindu origin, their ancestors having been converted by Ismā'īlī missionaries. The first of them is commonly stated to have been called 'Abd Allah and to have been sent from Yaman by the Imām of the Musta'li Ismā'īlī sect and to have landed in Cambay in 460 (1067) and there to have initiated an active propaganda. But other accounts give Muḥammad 'Alī whose tomb is still revered in Cambay, as the name of the first missionary in India (ob. 532-1137). The Chalukya dynasty of Anhilwad was then reigning over Gujarat and the Ismā'īlī missionaries seem to have been allowed by the Hindu Government to carry on their propaganda without interruption and with considerable success.'

Lieut. Connolly gives yet a third name, that of Ya'qūb.

Lieut. Connolly in his article cites a Bohora authority, so do Messrs. Syed Nawab Ali and Seddon in the footnote to p. 108 of their translation. They cite *Būstan-i-Ma'rīfat* (1901) written by a Bohora in Gujarati. There is yet a third book, written also by a Bohora called *Mausim-i-Bahār*. It is as is usual with Bohora religious works, written in Arabic script but in the Gujarati language, i.e., such Gujarati as is current amongst the sect. The author is Miyān Ṣāḥeb Muḥammad 'Alī Walad-e-Mullā Jiwābhā'i and the year of compilation A.H. 1298 (A.D. 1880). It is divided into three parts, the first dealing with the history of the Prophet, the second with that of the Imams, and the third with that of the Dā'īs or missionaries. Its full name is *Mausim-i-Bahār fī Akhbār ul-Tāherīn ul-Akhyār*. The third part is sub-divided into five sections, Introduction, three other sections and the last or *Khātima*. The second section deals with the Dā'īs in Gujarat and the third with those at Ujjain and Surat. On p. 155 of this book one very short reference is found on this point. It is to this effect: "Some years after the year 400, a mission came from the Yemen to

India. He (Yūsuf bin Sulaimān) is the chief of that mission.”<sup>1</sup>

This somewhat accords with what is found in Vol. IX, Part II, p. 27 of the *Bombay Gazetteer* which says that according to Bohora accounts there was at the time great want of zeal amongst Yemen people and strong faith among the people of Gujarat. This tempted the high priest, Yūsuf bin Sulaimān, to come and settle at Sidhpore. But that is said to have been about A.H. 946 (A.D. 1559).

The alleged miracle of making Hindu idols speak seems to have proved handy, as Nur Sat Sāgar (Pīr Nūru'd-dīn) is said to have converted the King of Anhilwada of his time, Bhima II (1179-1242) to Islam by performing the same miracle.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> چار سو نی کتنا کہ ورس نا بعد ین سی هند فی طرف دعوة آوی، دعوة نا  
آپ رب چھی،

<sup>2</sup> *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. IX, Part II, p. 38 (Khojas).



# METEOROLOGY IN THE ṚG-VEDA.

BY RAO SAHEB MUKUND V. UNAKAR.

## CHAPTER I.

### PREFATORY.

*Interest of the Work.*—The Ṛg-Veda Samhitā is admittedly the oldest literary record of the Aryans. The work contains much valuable meteorological information for the Punjab area, and deductions can also be drawn from it regarding long-period climatic changes. The main interest of the present work lies in the antiquity of the data.

*Sources of Information.*—European scholars have expended a large amount of labour on Ṛg-Vedic studies and I have levied numerous contributions from them. My source of information has been Griffith's popular translation of the Ṛg-Veda supplemented by (1) Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology*, (2) Max Müller's translation of hymns to the storm Gods in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXII, (3) Max Müller's *Chips from a German Workshop*, Vol. I, (4) *Bṛhaddevatā* or a descriptive list of Vedic Deities, (5) A. C. Das's *Rig Vedic Index*, (6) Wallis' *Cosmology of the Rig-Veda*, (7) Macdonell and Keith's *Vedic Index* and portions of a few other works. I have also gone over the stanzas in original Sanskrit which relate to meteorological matter and which are given in the Appendix. There is an amount of Ṛg-Vedic literature which remains to be seen. The authorities are sometimes at variance with one another and there is room for differences in interpretations.

*Arrangement adopted.*—I have adopted the following method in the extraction and presentation of my material. I first collected together from the Ṛg-Vedic hymns meteorological attributes of various deities. These were subsequently divided under different categories and arranged in sub-sections. It was then easy to identify the particular deity with a specific meteorological



phenomenon. The meteorological interpretations of the various deities given at the end of a section thus follow as a direct consequence of the various attributes mentioned in previous sub-sections. In these interpretations I have given scope to my own ideas and point of view.

*Scope of Inquiry and Lines of further Work.*—The present work is based on a study of the R̥g-Veda only, but it is realised that for a fuller and detailed account of ancient meteorology and past climates one will have to study critically not only the R̥g-Veda but will also have to read over the later Vedas and classical literature and interpret the whole from the fresh point of view so obtained. For very early periods, this study will also have to be supplemented by Avestic evidence which cannot be ignored in any critical study of the R̥g-Veda.

## CHAPTER II.

### INTRODUCTORY.

*Extent of the R̥g-Veda.*—The R̥g-Veda Saṁhitā contains a little more than a thousand hymns or songs composed, seen or perceived by various sages in adoration of various deities. There are altogether about eleven thousand stanzas. Same ideas are repeated with variations, and monotony prevails in the hymns to a considerable extent. About 250 hymns are dedicated to Indra alone and it is surprising to see how so many variations of the same theme should be possible. These variations make the selection difficult.

*Antiquity of the R̥g-Veda.*—The orthodox school regards the R̥g-Veda as an embodiment of all knowledge and therefore eternal. Modern scholars differ as regards the period at or during which the R̥g-Vedic hymns were composed. While on the one hand Macdonell (*Sanskrit Literature*) would put the chronological limits of the hymns between 1200 B.C. and 500 B.C., Tilak (*Orion and Arctic Home in the Vedas*) would go to 4000 B.C. or 6000 B.C. or earlier. Indeed, Das (*R̥g Vedic India*) goes to geological epochs for matter contained in some hymns. All scholars agree, however, in believing that the R̥g-Veda is the oldest literary document of

the Aryans. Internal evidence shows that the period of composition of the hymns extended over a very prolonged period and it is enough to restrict this inquiry to this historical period. Meteorological evidence regarding the probable dates of the R̥g-Veda is discussed in Chapter IX.

*Geographical Limits of the R̥g-Veda.*—From the data regarding rivers, mountains, sea and desert to be found in the R̥g-Veda it may be safely concluded that the bulk of the hymns were composed when the Aryans occupied the tract of country roughly represented by the modern Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province with some extensions of settlements round these limits. In this connection it has been said that no distinct reference or allusion to the foreign origin of Indians is traceable either in the R̥g-Veda or in later Sanskrit literature. The Meteorology of the R̥g-Veda is thus the meteorology of this tract of the country (*Vide* Chapter V—6).

*General Nature of R̥g-Vedic Gods.*—Vedic deities are considered as factors in the physical and moral order of the world. They are deified representatives of the phenomena or agencies of nature. Certain great cosmical functions are predicated of nearly every leading deity. The myths are metaphorical explanations of the observed natural phenomena. This material view in interpretations of deities is also adopted by a certain school of Sanskrit commentators and by European scholars generally. Another school interprets the deities as personifications of divine powers, while a third school gives greater prominence to the spiritual and metaphysical significance of the deities. These latter interpretations are irrelevant to our purpose.

*R̥g-Vedic Cosmogony.*—Earth, heaven and the intermediate space is the favourite triad of the R̥g-Veda. The intermediate space is the atmosphere which is often called the sea of air and the abode of celestial waters, and which is the seat of the principal meteorological activities. Eleven Gods are addressed as being in heaven, eleven in mid-air and eleven on earth.

*R̥g-Vedic Cosmology.*—The creation of the world was regarded as a work of art or as a formal sacrifice or as a process of generation exemplified in the union of light and water at dawn and in the thunderstorm. In the last case light was the germ and the waters

were the bearers of the germ. There are three principal applications of the metaphor of parentage, *viz.*, temporal, generic and local. These ideas will be useful in the chapters that follow.

*Nature of R̥g-Vedic Data.*—R̥g-Vedic hymns were prayers for moral and material advancement and for the all important rain and floods, repeated at the sacrificial sessions where the gods were invited to attend and to partake of the oblations and the Soma juice. And yet it is not nature-worship pure and simple; the central idea is control of powers underlying natural phenomena by means of sacrifice through faith to a beneficial end. But the space actually occupied by positive prayer and sacrificial texts is limited. A large space in the hymn is covered by the description of the characteristics, activities and achievements of the deity invoked. As the principal object of prayer was rain and water, the ever-renewed warfare between the beneficial thunder-wielding god Indra and the malevolent powers of darkness and the demons of drought who withheld the rain of heaven is referred to most frequently.

It should not be supposed that European scholars have reached anything like completeness in their interpretations of these hymns. Many hymns are dark as the darkest oracle, and success on the explanation of the hymns can be attained, if ever, by labours of generations of scholars. It is for this reason that I have utilised Griffith's popular translation of the stanzas in the present work. A popular translation would to some extent eliminate the personal bias of a Vedic scholar. The hymns contain meteorological matter expressed in various ways by various sages, and many modern ideas find their happy and appropriate expression in the verses. The limits of the subject have been carefully drawn and my interpretations are mostly confirmed by those of one or other of the European scholars. I believe they are not overdone.

*Meteorological Metaphors of the R̥g-Veda.*—In the R̥g-Veda the physical elements are seldom directly named by appropriate meteorological terms. The language used is metaphorical, but the context clearly shows the meteorological meaning. Thus the atmosphere is often called the sea, being the abode of celestial waters. The waters are frequently called by such names as mothers, floods, streams, rivers, milk and so on. They are

contained in the rain-clouds which are dripping, moving and roaring and which are metaphorically termed cows or cattle, the water dropping from their udders. The big rain-cloud is a bull or a buffalo or a cask. Further these moving and lowing rain-cloud cows are spoken of as being enclosed by a large and more or less stationary mass of cloud, figuratively called a mountain or a cave or a rock or a dragon or a demon. In the mythical language rain falls when the demon is laid low and the cows released. Sometimes clouds form the ridges of the sky, and the battlemented array of autumnal clouds on the horizon are the forts or castles. Again the morning clouds connected with dawn are also cows, which term, with a further stretch of the figure, is also applied to light rays. Thus the cow, which to the *R̥g-Vedic* Indian represented real wealth and was most desired, was the term applied metaphorically to other desired objects such as rain-clouds, rain-streams, rivers and light rays. Lightning is a whip or an arrow or an axe or a red apple, while thunder is the voice of heaven or the lowing of the cows or the psalm of the storm gods. Dew is honey or nourishment, and rain or water vapour is sometimes clarified butter.

### CHAPTER III.

#### PRINCIPAL METEOROLOGICAL DEITIES.

##### (1) VARUNA—THE ENCOMPASSING SKY.

*Connection with All-Pervading Law.*—Varuna represents the encompassing sky, the word being derived from a root which means to cover or encompass. Dwelling in the serene heights of heaven, he is the great lord of the laws of nature or of natural order. The maintenance of the positions of the heaven and the earth, the motion of the sun in the sky and of the wind in the firmament are all regulated by his laws. He is a regulator of the months and the seasons. His peaceful sway is explained by his connection with the regularly recurring celestial phenomena, while his activity displays itself pre-eminently in the control of the most regular phenomena of nature.

*Connection with Waters and Water Vapour.*—Varuṇa is the king of the air and of the sea, the latter being often regarded as identical with the former and is frequently connected with the waters either of the firmament or of the earth. He presides over the rivers and the oceans and is also connected with the ærial waters. He overspreads the mighty sea of air, is clothed in a covering cloud of clarified butter. He bedews the pasturage with butter and the regions of the air with meath or sweet refreshing water vapour. The waters of the rivers are said to flow into his throat, as if it were a pipe with ample mouth.

*Connection with Regular and Periodic Rains.*—With Maruts and Indra, Varuṇa is also thought of as a bestower of rain. It is however implied that the action of the other gods in shedding rain is subordinate to that of Varuṇa. A hymn to Varuṇa, which is prayer for rain, conveys a calm and serene impression, altogether different from hymns to other rain gods. The rain is fraught with the mist of heaven ; it is the milk of heaven and streameth down with sweetness.

*Chronological Position of Varuṇa.*—It will be seen later that Varuṇa is a heritage from an older age and belongs to the Indo-Iranian period when the ancestors of the Hindus and the Parsees lived together. His streams are said to flow from days aforetime in accordance with his laws and magic power.

*Meteorological Interpretation of Varuṇa.*—These characteristics of Varuṇa seem to show that the God belongs primarily to that period when rains were associated with a quiet atmosphere or were at any rate less stormy and were more regular in their periodic occurrence. The characteristic metaphorical association with milk, butter, honey and sweetness would perhaps indicate experience of quiet snowfall.

## (2) MARUTS—DEPRESSIONAL STORMS.

*Birth and Precursors.*—The generic origin of the Maruts is from Rudra, the red boar of the sky, and Pr̥ṣṇi, the spotted sky. It is the vedic cosmological generation of the union of light and water referred to before. The red glow of the sky is the first germ and the cloud patches in the sky become the bearers of the



germ. The Maruts are said to have yoked spotted deer to their chariot drawn by a red deer as a leader. One cannot but call to mind the characteristic appearance of the sky, spotted with little cloud balls or patches before the approach of a disturbance. The meteorological precursors are, therefore, the red glow in the sky, the cloud patches and the brightness of the cloud patches. The Maruts are also said to have yoked the winds for coursers, and the winds are said to have engendered the Maruts from the womb of heaven. The puffs of winds are the next precursors.

*Connection with Lightning and Thunder.*—The Maruts are said to glow like kindled flames of fire and gleam like serpents. They are glittering with golden ornaments, ride on golden cars, armed with golden spears, swords and battle-axes. They are said to have been born of the laughing lightning, and the lightnings laugh upon the earth beneath them when they shed rain. The voice of rain clouds which the Maruts are uttering is the thunder which follows the lightning.

*Connection with Winds.*—The noise with which the Maruts are associated is the noise of the winds in allusion to which they are sometimes called singers chanting their psalms and singing aloud like heroes. They are said to speed with a roar over the ridges of the sky; fierce comes the Maruts' thundering voice like that of conquerors. Loud roaring with the winds they upraise themselves, shakers of all, like gales of wind they travel.

*Connection with Rain.*—They drive forward the big clouds like wanderers on the way. They scatter clouds about the sky. On the steeps they pile the moving clouds. When they inundate the earth they spread forth darkness even in daytime with the water-laden rain-cloud. Through desire to rain, they come with storm of hail, roaring in onset, violent and exceeding strong. When they harness to their cars their spotted deer urging the thunderbolt, forth rush the torrents of the dark red stormy cloud and moisten like a skin the earth with water floods. They uplift the rain from the ocean and pour the torrents down; their rain clouds are never dry. They enlarge the bounds so that the kine must walk knee-deep. They drop the offspring of the cloud, long, broad and inexhaustible. They pour from the great cask the watery cloud. They urge the roaring rivers. They set the storm



cloud free to move and rain-floods flow over desert spots. They animate and quicken even the desert.

*Connection with Destruction.*—They make the mountains rock and reel when with the winds they go their way like creatures drunk with wine. Like wild elephants they eat the forests up when they assume their strength among the bright red flames. Before them the shrubs fly swift as whirling wheels. They overthrow what is strong and whirl about ponderous things. The Maruts are invoked to avert their blazing shaft which smites a waving tree as when the worm consumeth it. Sometimes the lightning armed with gory teeth crunches up cattle like a well-aimed dart.

*Revolving Motion.*—They spring forth like spokes where none is last in order. They are carried by steeds flying on their tortuous path through mid-air. They are of one mind, having no eldest, no youngest and no middlemost amongst them. They are impetuous; of these loud roarers none is last. Like spokes of car wheels in one nave united, they raise their voice and chant their psalm as singers. With eulogies and hymns sages follow their army, troop by troop and band by band and company by company. They strew each other with their blasts, these hawks. They strive together roaring like the wind.

*Motion of Translation.*—Their cars move onward as they go to victory. They halt not when they travel through the air. They advance like steers in rapid motion and being of one mind they come like swans who seek their nests. Their coursers weary not when speeding on their way and rapidly they reach the end of their path. They are visible from afar. No one knows whence they sprang; they and they only know each other's birth. They have simply come from a region most remote.

*Western Origin.*—The sages wish that none of the rivers Rasā, Krummu (probably Kurum), Anitabhā, Kubhā (probably Kophen or Kabul), all affluents of the Indus, nor the river Indus herself, should hold the Maruts back, (i.e., stop them in their motion of translation); their way should not be obstructed by the watery Sarayu (also a river in the Punjab). The Maruts are said to have Sindhu as their mother (origin) and are asked to guard Sindhu well and to succour Krivi in their need. (The Krivi are a tribe

supposed to have dwelt on the borders of the modern south-east Punjab and the north-west of the United Provinces.) The joint stream of the Rāvi and the Chenāb is supposed to bear the name Marudvṛddhā (increased by the Maruts) before it joined the Indus. The Maruts are said to have clothed themselves in robes of wool on the banks of the Paruṣṇī (Rāvi). Again the poet says "Maruts, what balm soever Sindhu (Indus) or Asiknī (Chenāb) hath, or mountains or the seas contain, ye carry on your bodies, ye who see it all ; so bless us graciously therewith." Indeed the Maruts are said to abide in the mountains or dwell on the lofty mountains. The Maruts go where they have resolved to go without being kept back by the mountains as they race along. Before them the mountains bend down. They have simply come from a region most remote. Now the rivers mentioned in the foregoing description are to the west of the Punjab and the mountains through which the Maruts come can be the frontier hills. The western origin of the Maruts seems to have been known by the R̥g-Vedic poets.

*Meteorological Interpretation of the Maruts.*—From constant association of the Maruts with lightning, thunder, wind and rain as well as from other traits mentioned above regarding their motions it becomes clear that the Maruts represent storm-gods or moving depressions in the R̥g-Veda. One is strongly reminded of the phenomenon of cold front rain. Once the poet says "who knows the birth of these or who lived in Maruts' favour in days of old what time their spotted deer was yoked." Their western origin seems to show that Maruts originally represented western disturbances of the winter type. In later periods the distinction appears to have disappeared and Maruts meant depressions or disturbances of all kinds and of all seasons.

### (3) PARJANYA.

*Description and Associations.*—Parjanya is the god of rain accompanied with thunder, lightning and winds and is the generator of plants and living creatures. In several places the word means rain-cloud. He is closely connected with the phenomenon of rain-storm in which the rain cloud becomes an udder, a pail or a

water skin. Often likened to a bull, he is characteristically a shedder of rain. His activity is described in very vivid terms:—

Like a car-driver whipping on his horses  
 He makes the messengers of rain spring forward.  
 Far off resounds the roaring of the lion,  
 What time Parjanya fills the sky with rain-cloud.  
 Thunder and roar, the germ of life deposit,  
 Fly round us on thy chariot water laden,  
 Thine opened water skin draw with thee downward  
 And let the hollows and the heights be level.  
 Thou hast poured down the rain-flood, now withhold it;  
 Thou hast made desert places fit for travel,  
 Thou hast made herbs to grow for our enjoyment,  
 Yea ! thou hast won thee praise from living creatures.  
 They who lay quiet for a year, the frogs,  
 Have lifted up their voice, the voice Parjanya has inspired ;  
 Soon as the rain time in the year returneth  
 These who were heated kettles gain their freedom.

From the foregoing short description it is clear that the Parjanya rain is accompanied with thunder lightning and some wind and is what is now called thunderstorm rain occurring in summer. The god is said to change his figure as he willeth being sometimes sterile and sometimes begetting offspring, sometimes giving and sometimes not giving rain like a cow which sometimes gives and sometimes does not give milk. Sometimes rain floods flow over desert places.

*After-effects of Parjanya Rain.*—After Parjanya has quickened the earth with moisture the plants shoot up and food springs abundant for all living creatures. The awakening of the frogs after a year at the beginning of the rainy season conveys an exact impression of what Parjanya represents meteorologically.

*Connection with Gods of European Countries.*—Max Müller (*India—What can it teach us ?*) thinks that the word is akin to Perkunas, the god of thunder in Lithuanian, to Percunos in old Prussian and to Perkons in Lettish, but says that there is no trace of the word in Greek or Latin or Celtic or even Teutonic. This would seem to indicate that the phenomenon represented by the

god was more important in the Punjab than in European countries.

*Meteorological Interpretation of Parjanya.*—It should be inferred that Parjanya represented the first burst of the monsoon rains. In the R̥g-Veda only three hymns are addressed to him.

(4) INDRA—THE SUCCESSFUL FIGHTER.

*Necessity of Indra.*—The general description given so far of the peaceful sway of Varuna, the stormy activity of the Maruts, and the recurring phenomenon of Parjanya would carry an impression that the R̥g-Vedic Indians enjoyed beneficent weather conditions. But we have now to see that adverse conditions in the shape of droughts and darkness did prevail and a god had to be invoked to fight against and put an end to these adverse conditions. This god was Indra. The fact that nearly a fourth of the R̥g-Veda is devoted to the praise of Indra would seem to show that adverse meteorological conditions did prevail and that the R̥g-Vedic age was not wholly a golden age when weather was fine, rains were regular and everything was to be had in plenty over the Punjab.

*His great Mythical Fight with the Drought Demons.*—These adverse meteorological conditions were supposed to have been caused by various demons. Details about the nature of these demons will be given in a subsequent chapter but in general it may be said that they occasioned prolonged droughts, obstruction of rain streams, obstruction of rivers and obstruction of light. Often the distress caused by these demons was considerable. The pious worshipper then offered his prayers to Indra, and Indra rose to the occasion and entered upon the fray. He smote the dragon with his thunderbolt and obtained the much needed rains, floods or light. He is regarded as constantly renewing the conflict which mythically represents the constant renewal of the natural phenomenon.

*The Fight against Adverse Meteorological Conditions.*—The adverse meteorological conditions would take the form of an overcast sky for prolonged periods, or, in other words, an obstruction of the sky by a huge mass of dark cloud film which remained stationary for prolonged periods, or of large but detached cloud masses occasionally appearing and disappearing, or of a battle-mented array of thick clouds against the horizon. These appear



to have been termed cloud mountains or cloud rocks or cloud forts. Exhilarated by Soma, armed with his thunderbolt and generally escorted by the Maruts, Indra bursts open the cloud mountains, pierces the cloud rocks, shatters the cloud forts, and obtains the much needed and desired rains, floods or light. The character of the struggle is threefold: continuous as during a prolonged cloudiness, occasional as during the production of a thunderstorm and periodic as at the end of the rainy season. As Vṛtra is the chief of the demons, the bursting of a cloud mountain appears to be the most frequent exploit. This demon Vṛtra has been described to be nothing more than the accumulation of vapour shut up in or obstructed by a cloud. Indra, with his thunderbolt or lightning influence, divides the aggregated mass and vent is given to the rain which then descends upon the Earth. This may occur during winter as well as during the monsoon period. It seems that the cleavage of a cloud rock produced a monsoon thunderstorm, and that the shattering of the cloud forts, which are often called autumnal, represents the struggle at the end of the rainy season.

*Release of Rain Streams.*—The primary exploit of Indra is the liberation of the rain streams from clouds which are apparently barren or unproductive. In mythical language it is the release of the cows from mountains, rocks or forts where they lie hidden or concealed by demons. Indra is thus a rain-bestower when it is most needed, and rises above the other gods in the estimation of the R̥g-Vedic Indians.

*Release of Light Beams.*—With the liberation of the waters is connected the winning of light and of the sun. It will be seen later that the R̥g-Vedic Indian was as anxious for light and the sun as he was for the rains. Winning of light was a secondary influence consequent on the release of the waters. But it was also a primary object probably during winter.

*Release of River Floods.*—It has been thought and seems probable that the mountains and the rivers, though often aerial, were sometimes terrestrial. Indra digs out channels for the rivers and lets loose to flow the seven rivers (of the Punjab). He slew the dragon lying on the mountain and, like lowing kine in rapid flow descending, the waters glided downward to the ocean. The

release of the river floods would be a natural consequence of the monsoon rains but there has not been found any direct reference to the summer floods so common in the Punjab rivers; some indirect references are however traceable.

*Help in Earthly Battles.*—Sometimes the line between the mythological and the historical battle is not clearly drawn and references are made to the victory of Indra over earthly enemies. Indeed, as the great lord of battle, Indra is more frequently called upon than any other deity as the helper of R̥g-Vedic Indians in their earthly conflicts with Dāsas or Dasyus.

*Indra's Appearance and Power.*—One whole hymn deals with various colours with which Indra is associated but his general appearance appears to be tawny. The gigantic size of Indra is dwelt upon in many places, while his greatness and power are lauded in most unstinted terms. In him the deities are said to have stored manliness, insight, power and might. He fixed fast and firm the earth that staggered and set at rest the agitated mountains as they shook. He begat fire between two stones or generated lightening between heaven and earth.

*Indra the Supreme God of the R̥g-Vedic Indians.*—From the foregoing description it will be seen that Indra is an irresistible warrior whose mighty arms win victory and whose inexhaustible liberality bestows the highest good on mankind. He is a friend in need and becomes a friend in deed—the supreme tutelary god of the R̥g-Vedic Indians during that part of the R̥g-Vedic age when difficulties in the shape of droughts and earthly enemies were frequent.

*Meteorological Interpretation of Indra.*—Indra obtains rains, floods and light, but these three effects are so mixed up in the hymns dedicated to him that it seems very difficult to assign any definite season or seasons to each. Probably the rains referred originally to the monsoon season and then extended to winter, the floods appear to refer to the rainy season but must refer to summer also, while light referred to winter as well as to autumn. Meteorologically Indra is that beneficent factor which can successfully put an end to adverse conditions of drought and darkness. He is a successful meteorological fighter.



(5) INDRA-VARUṆA. CHANGE IN THEIR RELATIVE IMPORTANCE DURING THE R̥G-VEDIC AGE.

*Historical Account.*—In comparing historically Varuṇa and Indra it should be noted that the Iranians and the Punjab Aryans originally lived together and worshipped the same gods. In the Indo-Iranian period the importance of Varuṇa was greater than that of Indra. A schism appears to have taken place and the Zoroastrians migrated westward. One of the differences is said to consist in the Iranians giving greater preference to Mithra the Sun-god, a deity most frequently conjoined with Varuṇa in the R̥g-Veda, and in not acknowledging the supremacy of Indra. In Irān, Varuṇa remained only as the name of the material heaven and of a mythical region which was the seat of the mythical fight between a storm-god and a storm-fiend, while Indra's name is found in the Avesta as that of a demon or a malignant power. In the Punjab, the importance of Varuṇa and Indra remained about equal in the earlier R̥g-Vedic period but in later R̥g-Vedic times Indra the beneficent successful fighter outshone and superseded Varuṇa the peaceful personification of law and order.

*Account in the R̥g-Vedic Hymns of Rivalry and Adjustment.*—One hymn is a colloquy between Indra and Varuṇa in which each of these leading gods puts forward his claims to superiority. The poet decides in favour of Indra. Ultimately Varuṇa's sphere becomes ethical or moral, while Indra becomes a bestower of material boons. Days of passive sway and peaceful and regular living, which are the characteristic features of Varuṇa, appear to have been followed by days of struggles for existence and energetic action, which are the characteristic features of Indra.

*Meteorological Interpretation of the Accounts.*—It has been mentioned that Varuṇa was connected with eternal laws and regular recurrence of periodic meteorological phenomena, while Indra with constant warfare against adverse meteorological factors. In the Indo-Iranian period life should have been easy and periodic climatic variations did not affect the struggle for existence of the people who probably lived over the regions round about the frontier<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Varuṇa cut the channels of the Indus for her forward course while Indra dug the channels of and impelled the Beas and the Sutlej.

hills. Then they may be supposed to be pastoral with less agricultural operations demanding plenty of rains. After separation, the Iranians who migrated north-westwards, where climatic conditions were colder, felt the necessity of Mithra or the Sun-god, while the Indians under grand displays of the strife of the meteorological elements felt the necessity of Indra the beneficent and successful fighter against adverse and irregular meteorological conditions. A change in climatic conditions can thus be deduced from a change in the relative importance of the gods. Varuṇa represents a period of normal climatic features, while Indra represents a period of droughts which had to be got over through his influence. (See also Chapter IX.)

(6) INDRA-MARUTS : CHANGE IN THEIR RELATIVE IMPORTANCE DURING THE R̥G-VEDIC AGE.

*Account in R̥g-Vedic Hymns of their Friendship and Rivalry.*—Being identified in the phenomena of thunderstorm, the Maruts appear as Indra's friends and allies in many passages of the R̥g-Veda. In one hymn however Indra appropriates to himself the sacrifice intended for the Maruts and the sage conciliates Indra by telling him that the Maruts were his friends and apologises before the Maruts for having allowed Indra to enjoy the offerings intended for the Maruts. In another hymn Indra boasts of his own exploits and declines the friendship of the Maruts; the Maruts praise Indra; Indra repents of his unkindness; and the reconciliation is effected. The hymns appear to be a vindication of the separate or at least preferential worship of Indra without comprehending at the same time, as a matter of course, the adoration of the Maruts, and embody the idea that Indra, however powerful by himself, could not dispense with the assistance of the Maruts.

*Meteorological Interpretation of the Accounts.*—We have seen that the Maruts represented western disturbances of the winter type. Subsequently when monsoon rains became important the idea of the Maruts was extended to monsoon depressions also. We have also seen that Varuṇa who gave regular and peaceful rains was superseded by Indra the successful fighter against

adverse meteorological factors. Thus, while Indra gained popularity, the Maruts gained in the extent of their influence. In a thunderstorm, both the depressional storms and Indra's beneficent influence had a common basis. All rain was thunderstorm rain. For really good rain Indra's beneficent influence had to take the help of the depressional storms. The tale of Indra-Varuṇa ends in supersession of Varuṇa by Indra ; the tale of Indra-Maruts ends in a reconciliation between the two. Chronologically, copious winter rains, as represented by Maruts, preceded monsoon rains and drought conditions, represented by Indra. (See also Chapter IX).

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## CHAPTER IV.

### MINOR METEOROLOGICAL DEITIES.

#### (1) SAVITAR—SŪRYA—SUN-GOD.

*General Nature—Connection with Heat, Cold and Waters.*—The Sun-god literally means generator, arouser, stimulator. Savitar is the divine power of the Sun personified, while Sūrya is the more concrete deity. In R̥g-Veda, the Sun is a beneficent not a maleficent deity. There are frequent prayers for sunlight, daylight, fair weather, warmth. The refulgence of his glow is an object of praise. The god blesses men with shine, with perfect daylight, with cold, with fervent heat and lustre ; Agni blesses men with his fires and Sūrya warms them pleasantly ; the god drives those who hate the worshipper far away and keeps them distant from the Sun. On the other hand the passages in which there are references to the Sun's burning heat are few. The god is asked to grant a sheltering home that wards the fierce heat off on every side ; also the foes are burnt as the Sun burns the earth ; men go to Rudra and Agni for shelter as they go to the shade from fervent sunlight and heat ; Indra consumeth the malicious man with the rays of Sūrya. There are a few allusions to the Sun's connection with waters. His function as distributor of heat, rain and cold is called his triple law. His rays are of threefold nature. They are agents in sending down rain and in its reabsorption. Dark

is their descent, the birds (rays) are golden coloured ; up to the heaven they fly robed in the waters. Again they descend from the seat of order and all the earth is moistened with their fatness. In one place the Sun-god is said to lead the rivers which flow expanded at his sending them forth. This might refer to the summer floods of the Punjab rivers caused by snow melting.

*Meteorological Remarks.*—These attributes of the Sun would lead one to an inference about colder conditions of climate during R̥g-Vedic age. There is some evidence to show that in the Indo-Iranian period cold conditions prevailed. In the first farquard of the Vendidad, the sacred book of the Zoroastrians, it has been stated, "The fifteenth of the good lands and countries I, Ahura Mazda (Supreme God), created was the seven rivers (Punjab). Thereupon came Angra Many (the Devil) who is all death and he counter-created by his witchcraft abnormal issues in women and *excessive heat*." Considering the climatic features of the Punjab it cannot be argued that hymns relating to the Sun's heat were written in one locality and those relating to cold weather in another. (See also Chapters VIII and IX.)

## (2) AGNI—GOD OF FIRE AND LIGHT.

*Sacrificial Importance.*—Agni is naturally of primary importance as the personification of the sacred fire which is the centre of the ritual poetry of R̥g-Veda. As a conductor of sacrifice he is repeatedly called a messenger who moves between heaven and earth and a great priest carrying oblations offered by men to gods. By his intercession he causes rain to fall. As having the spark of vitality and being so widely diffused in nature, Agni naturally came to be described as the germ of all that exists.

*Triple Character.*—His universality is shown by his triple birth and character. He exists as Sun in the heavens, as sacrificial centre on earth and as lightning in the waters of the firmament. The abode of the celestial Agni in the waters of the firmament is one of the best established points in Vedic mythology. To a R̥g-Vedic Indian lightning makes the clouds to rain ; the thunder heraldeth rain ; there can be no rain without lightning and thunder. Agni is the child of the floods, the germ of the waters and quickeneth

the waters' seed. As lightning is a form of Agni, Indra is more frequently coupled with Agni as a dual divinity than with any other god. It is noteworthy that lightning is rarely associated with Varuṇa.

*Connection with the Seasons.*—In his character of the Sun he is sometimes said to establish and regulate the seasons of the year. He knows the proper seasons of the year or the sacrificial sessions. The seasons and the sacrifices were so intimately connected in the thoughts of the ancients that Agni is called the guardian of the seasons.

*Domestic Connections.*—As a sacrificial centre in every home, Agni is more closely connected with human life than any other god. His association with the dwellings of men is peculiarly intimate. He is the only god to whom the epithet lord of the house is applied. He is a guest, a kinsman, a friend and a mighty benefactor of his worshipper. He is a god whom forefathers kindled. Such characteristics seem to point to an older order of things when Agni was less sacrificial and as the centre of domestic life produced an intimate relation such as is not easily found in the worship of other gods.

*Meteorological Remarks.*—Rainfall in the Punjab as associated with the Maruts and Indra appears to be closely connected with lightning. All such rain appears to be thunderstorm rain. Agni's beneficent domestic connections would lead one to infer a colder climate at least when the Agni cult was first instituted. They support a similar inference deduced from the beneficent nature of the Sun-god.

### (3) VĀYU, VĀTA OR WIND-GOD.

*General Character.*—Wind moves on the paths of the mid-region of air as his will inclines him. His chariot goes crashing and hath a voice of thunder. His flight is swift and impetuous. He is hard to be checked. Reference is sometimes seen to the fresh morning breeze. Somehow Wind is less connected with the Maruts, though they are said to have been generated by wind from the womb of heaven. He is sometimes connected with Indra. He is specifically connected with Parjanya. Wind and Parjanya are two bulls who stir up the regions of the water. Forth burst the



winds what time Parjanya quickens earth with moisture. Wind is borne onward by the clouds that thunder.

*Allusion to Two Winds.*—There are two or three passages in which two winds are mentioned. Two several winds are said to blow from Sindhu (Indus or Ocean) from a distant land; one breathes energy, the other drives disease away. The steed of Vāta impelled by the Gods is said to have his home in both oceans in eastern and in western sea. There is also a reference to two winds which age not. The two winds should refer to winds of the two seasons.

*Meteorological Remarks.*—Although Maruts which represent winds moving from one region to another in a depressional storm are of paramount meteorological importance, the regular sweep of the winds, or variable winds, represented by Vāyu or Vāta does not appear to represent any active meteorological element except when connected with Parjanya or the first burst of the monsoon. This would seem to show that there was no regular and continuous rainy season in the Punjab. Rain mostly occurred either without high winds as with Varuṇa or in connection with depressions and thunderstorms as with Maruts and Indra.

#### (4) RUDRA—THE RUDDY ROARER OF HEAVEN.

*General Character.*—Rudra is the father of the Maruts or storm-gods. Etymologically the word means a roarer signifying the sound of storms, or the red or brilliant god. He is called the wild boar of the sky, the red, the dazzling shape. He appears to have represented not the storm pure and simple but rather its baleful side in the destructive agency of lightning. This would account for his deadly shafts which kill men or cattle and for his being the father of the Maruts who are armed with lightning. He is, however, not purely malevolent like a demon; his healing powers are mentioned with special frequency.

*Meteorological Remarks.*—Rudra appears to be a personification of the red glow of the sky at the time of the morning and evening twilights which is believed even to this day as a precursor of rain in parts of India. Being the father of the storm-gods the consequences of the storms exist in him as attributes, which may be incidental.



## (5) ṚBHUS AND THE SEASONS.

*General Remarks.*—The meteorological seasons have been treated in a subsequent chapter ; owing to specific importance from the point of view of the sacrificial sessions, the seasons were sometimes personified and honoured as deities. They were called Ṛbhus' regulations, and Ṛbhus as cosmic powers were closely connected with them. Myths connected with the Ṛbhus appear somewhat obscure, and ingenious explanations have been offered. Thus their repose for twelve days in the house of the Sun is taken to represent the twelve days of the winter solstice. They are said to renovate the earth through the recurrence of the seasons. Definite meteorological statements in connection with these deities are important, but the metaphorical and the obscure character of the hymns would preclude one from making them.

## (6) MISCELLANEOUS DEITIES CONNECTED WITH FIRE OR LIGHT, WATER AND THEIR MINGLINGS.

*Mātariśvan—Celestial Carrier of Fire or Light.*—He is a divine or semi-divine being who is said to have brought Agni from heaven. He is identified by some with the Wind-god but may be called the medium of light and heat propagation.

*Trita Āptya—Watery Third-Fire.*—He is probably the third or lightning form of Agni or a producer of lightning. In the heights of heaven, like a smelter, he is said to fan Agni, to sharpen Agni. The characteristic epithet applied to him is watery. The God goes back to the Indo-Iranian period, as his name and epithet are found in the Avesta.

*Ahīrbudhnya—Dragon of the Deep.*—He is a divine being who lives in the depths of the ocean of air. He is born of floods and sits beneath the streams in middle air. There seems to be something hurtful in his nature.

*Apāmnāpāt—Child of the Waters.*—He shines bright in floods, unfed with fuel, germ of many. He grows in brightness in the lap of waving waters. He is lightning concealed in or produced from rain-clouds and dates back to the Indo-Iranian period.

*Vena—Gandharva—Cloud Spirit or Rainbow.*—Vena is apparently the loving Sun as he rises in the dew and mist of morning.

Gandharva is a bright celestial being sometimes thought of as dwelling in waters with his spouse Apsaras or water nymph. They illustrate the union of light with waters. He may be interpreted to be a rainbow.

*Dadhikra—Divine Horse of the Morning Sun.*—He is described as a kind of divine horse and is probably a personification of the morning sun. Etymologically the name implies scatterer of thickened milk, in allusion to the rising Sun spreading dew and hoar frost like milk.

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## CHAPTER V.

### QUASI-METEOROLOGICAL DEITIES.

(1) *Soma—The Drink of the gods.*—By the side of the cult of fire the Soma sacrifice forms a main feature in the ritual of the *Rg-Veda*. The whole of the ninth book, containing 114 hymns, is devoted to Soma. The descriptions consists mainly of incantations while the TERRESTRIAL SOMA PLANT is pressed by stones and the juice flows through the woollen strainer into the wooden vats ; after this it is offered as a beverage to the gods.

Soma is also CELESTIAL whose abode is heaven, from which it is said to have been brought on earth by an eagle or falcon. The falcon may be the lightning which rends the clouds and brings down sweet rain. It may be a mythological account of the simple phenomenon of descent of lightning darting from the cloud and causing a fall of ambrosial fluid water of the cloud. In metaphorical accounts the Terrestrial Soma is identified with the purification of the Celestial Nectar accompanied by rain and lightning. Lightning is in some verses connected with purification of Soma, which in all probability alludes to the purification of the Celestial Soma, and may have reference to the phenomenon of thunderstorm. The heavenly Soma is said to combine with solar rays in the clouds and thus cause rain to descend.

It has been held by some that Soma also means the MOON-GOD. The hyperbolic terms in which the Soma hymns are expressed might have been a consequence due to an inner consciousness of the coalescence or of the triple nature of the Soma as

the plant on earth, as rain in the firmament, and as Moon-god in the heavens.

(2) *Indra—Soma : their Connection.*—Indra is pre-eminently addicted to Soma. Exhilarated with wild joy, he enters into the fray with the demons of drought and conquers them. The draughts which he drinks are said to lift him up like violent gusts of wind. The juice is said to flow for Indra's sake. As brightness mingles with the moon in heaven, the offered Soma yearns to mix with Indra. Being intimately connected with Indra and Vṛtra, Soma comes to be spoken of independently as a great fighter and a giver of rain. This connection between the two gods may mean that Indra is some beneficent meteorological influence which receives support from some lunar influence.

(3) *Uṣas—Dawn.*—Uṣas is the most graceful production of Vedic poetry. The poet's fondness for her seems to show how deeply his mind was impressed by the splendid glories of the dawn. Descriptions of dawn are however of interest to students of atmospheric optics. The meteorological interest lies in her association with the white or red or dark-red morning clouds brightened by the approach of the dawn, or with misty skies, or morning dews, or watery regions of the firmament, in which she is represented as bathing. The destruction by Indra of the chariot of the dawn-goddess is interpreted to mean the obstruction of the dawn by a thunderstorm. Specific mention of this phenomenon which is not of frequent occurrence but is only occasional, would seem to show that early morning was not the usual time of occurrence of a thunderstorm.

(4) *Aśvins—Twin Heralds of Dawn.*—The Aśvins are represented as denoting either the twilight or the morning star. Their connection with any definite phenomenon of light is obscure ; they may represent the commingling of light and darkness, or zodiacal lights. Their physical basis is a puzzle even to the oldest Indian commentators. The time when these gods appear is the early dawn, while it is still dark, but the grey of the morning is beginning to appear or when darkness still stands over the ruddy morning clouds. At the yoking of their car Uṣas is born. Of all the gods the Aśvins are most closely connected with honey. They are lovers of sweetness. They sprinkle meath with their honey-

whip wherever they go and refresh their paths therewith. The bee bears their honey in her mouth or they bring delicious honey to the bees. They bring nourishment and possess that healing virtue which they deposit in the waters, in the trees and in the herbs. The honey-whip may be taken to represent the stimulating and life-giving breeze of the early morning or the early morning dews. The pleasant sprinklings of the honey would then represent actual nourishments received by the plants from copious dews of the early morning. All nature receives the first stimuli at the time of the appearance of these gods; and plants and herbs are supposed to have their greatest value at this time by Indian medical men.

(5) *Āpaḥ—Waters.*—The waters are praised as goddesses in four hymns of the Rg-Veda. Waters are described as flowing from the heavens, or wandering as dug from the earth, or flowing free by nature. They are bright, purifying and speeding to the ocean. They flow forth when sent by Indra. The poet asks: where is their spring, where is their foundation, where is their inmost centre? Sūrya attracts them with his bright beams, Indra digs paths for them to travel. They bear off all defilement. They have their healing power; they drive disease away. Most motherly physicians, they are parents of all that standeth, all that moveth. The waters appear to be of primary importance to the Rg-Vedic Indian; this explains the frequent occurrence of prayers for rainfall and for the inclusion of so much meteorological matter in these religious and sacrificial hymns.

(6) *Rivers—With incidental reference to Knowledge of Mountain, Sea and Desert.*—About 30 RIVERS are mentioned in the Rg-Veda. Mention is often made of the 'sapta sindhavaḥ' or seven rivers. It is interesting to note that the same expression Hepta Hindu occurs in the Avesta. The rivers are the Indus, the Sarasvatī and the five rivers of the Punjab—Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi, Beas and Sutlej. The names of frequent occurrence are those of the Indus and the Sarasvatī. The Indus is said to be rich in horses, cars, robes and ample wealth. The Sarasvatī however is a sacred river and the region appears to have acquired a certain sanctity; her limitless unbroken flood is said to be swift moving and comes on with a tempestuous roar. The description given of the Sarasvatī

can hardly apply to the small stream now known under that name and there is evidence to show that in the R̥g-Vedic age it was large and was the last of the rivers of the Punjab and therefore an iron gate or real frontier to the east. Rivers in those days were not easily fordable. There are references to transport over water floods in boats and an easy ford is said to be pleasant. In one hymn, the rivers Beas and Sutlej are asked by the sage to bow lowly down, to be easy to be traversed and to stay with their flood below the axles of car and wagon.

The rivers have their course from the MOUNTAINS. Forth from the bosom of the mountains the Beas and Sutlej are said to speed down their waters. The Indus is said to speed over precipitous ridges of the earth. The mountains are said to distil the rain drops and, resting firm, rejoice in freshening moisture. They are said to be snow-covered and rich in treasures.

The course of the rivers is from the mountains to the SEA or OCEAN. The seven mighty rivers are said to seek the ocean. The floods are said to be longing for the sea. In one or two passages there appears to be an account of a sea voyage where the words of the text do not admit of any other interpretation. It is a matter for consideration whether under ancient geographical conditions the sea was not nearer to south Punjab than it is now.

THE DESERT is mentioned in the R̥g-Veda. Rain floods are said to flow over desert lands. Indra inundated thirsty plains and deserts and when Parjanya gives rain he makes desert places fit for travel. Springs in the desert were fully appreciated. Agni is compared to a fountain in the desert and sacrificial gifts are said to refresh Indra like water brought to men in desert places. In one place the poet says: "The desert plains and steep descents, how many leagues in length they spread." If Sarasvatī was a mighty river flowing to the sea and if it is now lost in the sands it can be inferred that the Rajputana desert is gaining ground to the north and east of it.

Changes in the configuration of the Punjab rivers and in the sea or gulfs into which they discharge their waters and in the extent of the Rajputana desert have occurred even in comparatively recent times and they can be carried backward to R̥g-Vedic period. But for causing any change in climatic features, the



changes should be of an order of magnitude which would take one to very old periods approaching the dates of geological transformations which are not considered here and which would form a distinct subject for meteorological and climatic speculations.

(7) *Forests, Fields, Animals*.—The FOREST hymn shows a fine appreciation of nature. The forest queen is praised as sweet-scented, redolent of balm; she is the mother of all sylvan things, who tills not but hath stores of food. The burning of the forest is however mentioned with special frequency in connection with Agni. Agni compasses all forests with glowing flame and leaves them blackened with his tongue; he shaves the earth, as a barber shaves a beard, when the wind blows on his flame and fans it. In one place there seems to be an allusion to the clearance of the jungle by fire for the advance of the settlers. Immense forests would mitigate the heat of the sun and may have produced an appreciable effect on rainfall and considerable effect on retention of rain-water.

THE LORD OF THE FIELD is praised in one hymn. There are references to ploughing, sowing and reaping. A god dewes the corn with moisture, bedews the pasture of the kine. Rain is said to swell the corn by moisture sent from heaven. The word Yava is mentioned with special frequency as the principal article of vegetable food and may be a generic name for any sort of grain. The word means barley even to this day and it is probable that it meant barley in the Rg-Vedic age also; its generic significance was probably derived from its cultivation and production on a very large scale and to an extent which was greater than for any other kind of grain. As barley is a winter crop, winter rains appear to be a predominant feature of the climate. It is said that rice, which is a monsoon crop, is not specifically mentioned; but as Parjanya, who apparently represents the first burst of the monsoon, is the generator and nourisher of plants giving abundant food for all living creatures, it is probable that crops were raised in the monsoon season also.

Amongst ANIMALS the cow occupies a prominent place and has already acquired a certain amount of sanctity in the Rg-Veda. She is described as food which moves on feet. Naturally she had great utility and value. The horse is another animal of value



particularly in warfare. Wealth in steeds and abundance of cows is prayed for. Amongst wild animals mention is made of the wolf, the lion, the wild boar, the bear, the jackal, gaura, buffalo, deer, hyena, antelope and a few others. The tiger is not mentioned, while the elephant may have been regarded as a strange creature, being called a beast with hand. This is of some significance as the natural home of these animals is even now outside the limits of the Punjab then occupied by Rg-Vedic Indians.

*(To be continued.)*

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## SOME PECULIARITIES OF THE SORATHI DIALECT.

BY D. R. MANKAD.

THE GUJARATI language is spoken today in many distinct dialects,<sup>1</sup> out of which the provincial dialect spoken by the people occupying the province called Sorath is for many reasons, greatly interesting to a philologist. The pure Sorathi dialectal variations which may be noticed today, are mostly to be found in the spoken language of Kāthiās, Āhirs or Āyars, Chāraṇas, Mers and other tribes. There is also an extensive literature expressed in this mixed dialect and preserved as folk-lore, which is lately being published by Mr. J. K. Meghani.<sup>2</sup> That these people have often preserved forms and words almost in their Prākṛit and Apabhraṁśa stage, can be ascertained even by a cursory knowledge of the dialect. A detailed study of this dialect shows that it is considerably influenced by Sindhi, Kachhi, Mārawāḍi and slightly also by Hindi.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See specimens given by Sir George Grierson in LS. Vol. IX, Part II.

<sup>2</sup> Specially his Rasadhāras, Bahāravatiās, Raḍhiāḷi Rāt and Rṭugito which last, presents some very interesting philological (chiefly phonetic) variations.

<sup>3</sup> Duhās like :—

Pāṇi miḍe pāk

Mel māḍuje manamēṁ

Tuṁ to ji nīyār

Tuṁ keḍe pāṇithi nīpajyo

—Kāthiāwāḍi Duhā, p. 57; by G. D. Raychurā.

or

Uttar śedyuṁ kaddhiyuṁ

Duṅgara ḍammariyā

Haiḍo talafe maccha jin

Sājana sambhāriyām

—Sorathi Bahāravatiā I., App.

may be taken as complete remnants of the Kachhi dialect, though the instrumental in the first duho is purely Gujarāti. But, even otherwise many terminations directly imported from Kachhi, (which is nothing else but a dialect of Sindhi) are found interspersed all throughout the literature. Gen. jī, change of neuter into masculine gender, etc., are some instances in point. Mārawāḍi influence is more marked in marriage songs, which form a special collection in Meghani's Chundaḍi. Gen. rā, change of 'ta' to 'tha' are comparatively frequent. Hindi influence is not so marked. Gen. kā is of course seen, but otherwise it is very rare.

The complex nature of this half-developed dialect necessitates a brief inquiry into the antecedents of the people whose vehicle of expression it has been for a long time.

### KATHIS.

First, to consider about the Kāthīs Campbell states that they came to Kāthiāwād (cir. 1400 A.D.) from Sind through Cutch. He also narrates that the Kāthīs themselves preserve a tradition describing their origin from the blow of a stick by Karna, at the time of Virāṭa's Gograhana, a Mbh. incident. Some, according to Campbell, may be connected with Kathmandu, the capital of Nepāl.

Captain Wilberforce-Bell, too, says<sup>1</sup> "They are generally supposed to have migrated from Sind to Kachha where they settled at Pava and afterwards in Sorath at Thān." He also notices the legendary origin in the Mbh. incident.

It is necessary here to point out that the Mbh. knows no such incident and that the legend owes its origin probably to the general tendency, of most of the present tribes, of connecting themselves with some illustrious ancient family.

It seems that at the time of Alexander's invasion, a people named by the Greeks as Kathaioi dwelt on the banks of the Indus, whom the Cambridge History of India<sup>2</sup> takes to be Kshatriyas, pointing out at the same time that the common designation of the warrior caste seems to have been applied, in this case, to a particular people.

Dr. Macdonell,<sup>3</sup> speaking about the Kāthas of the famous Kāthaka Śākhā, states that they are now mostly seen in Kāshmere, but in the days of the Greeks they were in the Punjab and Kāshmere. But he has cited no authority for this statement, probably showing thereby that he also had the above Kshatriya-Kathaioi theory in view. This error in the identification of the Kshatriya and Kathaioi was probably due to McCrindle, who

<sup>1</sup> The history of Kāthiāwād, pp. 67-68.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I, p. 349.

<sup>3</sup> History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 175.

equated<sup>1</sup> the Kathaioi with Kshatriyas. That this was erroneous was pointed out by Prof. S. Majmudār Shāstrī in his notes on the text of MacCrindle thus :<sup>2</sup> "The Kathioi were the Kanthas (Pāṇini, II, 4, 20) or the Krathas (Mahabharata, VIII, 85, 16). To take it as Kshatriyas, as has been done by Dr. McCrindle and in the Camb. H. I. (Vol. I), is not very satisfactory. For the word Kshatriya does not refer to any particular nation or tribe, but is the common name for all the warrior tribes or castes."

But in his discussion about the Kathaioi, McCrindle regards the following names as having been derived from this word :<sup>3</sup> "Kathis, Kathi, Kathias, Katris, Khattris, Khetars, Kettaour, Kattair, Kattaks and others. One of these tribes, the Kathis, issuing from the lower parts of the Punjab, established themselves in Saurashtra and gave the name of Kathiawad to the great peninsula of Gujarat."<sup>4</sup>

The above discussion brings out two possible alternatives as to the origin of the Kāthīs—(1) Kathaioi, if we believe in McCrindle, or (2) Kanthas or Krathas according to Dr. S. Majumdar Shastri. Their origin from the Kanthas would seem to be borne out by the still existing name Kanthāl, given to the shore of the Ran of Cutch.<sup>5</sup> Ptolemy also knew a gulf named Kanthi and McCrindle identifies<sup>6</sup> it with the present 'Gulf of Kachha'.

But there is still another line of argument, which probably leads us nearer to the origin of the Kāthīs. McCrindle in the long list of the tribes whose names he believed to have been derived from or akin to Kathaioi, enumerates Kattaks. If there is any connection between Kathaioi, Kattaks and our Kāthīs, the matter, I think, can still be pushed earlier. In the Vedic times there was a Kāthaka Śākhā, which gives us a Saṁhitā and an Upaniṣad ;

<sup>1</sup> McCrindle's Ancient India as Described by Ptolemy, ed. by S. Majmudār Shāstrī, pp. 157-58.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 375.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*, p. 158.

<sup>4</sup> McCrindle has blundered here. It is Kāthiāwād that is a Peninsula and not Gujarāta.

<sup>5</sup> It is however possible that the word Kanthāl is to be derived from Kānthā or Kanṭha.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid*, p. 153.

and it seems probable, at least philologically, that our Kāṭhis were perhaps connected with these Kāṭhas. That the Kāṭhas occupied the Punjab once, according to Macdonell, lends further support to this identification, as Kāṭhis also are said to have migrated from almost the same districts.

But for the purpose of philological investigations, it is quite sufficient that the Kāṭhis came into Kāṭhiāwād, from Sind *via* Cutch.

Āyars, or Āhirs, another tribe, whose dialect we are going to investigate, are a wandering pastoral people mostly moving from one place to another for pastures for their cattle. They are said to have formed marital connections with Rajput tribes like Solankis, Vālās and Paramārs.<sup>1</sup> Captain Wilberforce-Bell points out<sup>2</sup> "Ptolemy, the Greek, mentions them as Ahirya," which seems to be incorrect as there is no mention of the Ahirya in Ptolemy. But, he, like Campbell, thinks, that the Āhirs formerly lived on the banks of the Indus and in all probability migrated to Saurāshṭra owing to the influx of Mahomedans into Sind from Persia,<sup>3</sup> while W. Crooke,<sup>4</sup> finds their connection with Abars, a Scythic tribe, as affirmed by some, not plausible. Their matrimonial relations with the Rajputs, indicate that they were once a ruling and fighting race. In the Mahābhārata there is ample evidence to this effect.<sup>5</sup> Nakula in his Digvijaya had to defeat Ābhiras, on the banks of the Indus (Sindhukulasaṁśrita). They are said to have been reduced to the present servile condition as a result of the extirpation of all the Kshatriyas by Paraśurāma.<sup>6</sup> Before this legendary incident, however, they were Kshatriyas. That they were connected with Aioi mentioned by Ptolemy seems probable;<sup>7</sup> but though the connection of serpent worship with Aioi seems to be quite possible, it cannot be positively affirmed of the Āhirs

<sup>1</sup> Gujarāta Sarvasaṅgraha, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> E.R.E., i, 232; however cf. Enthoven : Tribes and Castes of Bombay : Ahirs.

<sup>5</sup> Mbh., II, 35, 9-10 ; III, 192, 33-35.

<sup>6</sup> Mbh., XIV, 30, 14-16.

<sup>7</sup> cf. Ptolemy's Ancient India, ed. by Majumdār, p. 350.



who were originally called Ābhirs, which form of the word is a philological handicap for connecting them with Ahis, who are mentioned in the R̥gveda.

Even these Āyars are said to have come to Sorāṭhi from Sind, *via* Cutch.

Chāraṇas, another tribe using Sorāṭhi are known to have been intimately connected<sup>1</sup> with both the Kāṭhis and Āyars and thus must have accompanied them to Kāthiāwād.

For Mers, a tribe also using this dialect I would simply refer to Indian Antiquary, June 1922,<sup>2</sup> where following Dr. Bhagawanlal Indrajī, they are identified with the Maitraks and Mihirs. They also appear to have come through Sind.

The influence of Sindhi and Cutchi that we shall find in the investigation of this dialect can thus be historically explained.

#### UTSARGAS

##### REMOTE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN *ī*

The Sorāṭhi dialect is conspicuous by the total absence of both the remote demonstrative pronouns *e* and *te* which are so widely used in the other dialects of the Gujarāṭi language. The use of this *ī* in the nominative as well as in the oblique cases is to be found throughout in the Sorāṭhi literature.<sup>3</sup> This extensive use of the pronoun *ī* has, it seems, influenced other pronouns also. *te* and *je* of Gujarāṭi proper are often used in Sorāṭhi as *tī* and *jī*, but mostly in oblique case only. Sir George Grierson shows<sup>4</sup> the use of *ī* in the Zālāvāḍi

<sup>1</sup> cf. Gujarāṭa Sarvasaṅgraha, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> cf. also Mhars. an article by V. P. Vaidya, in Nāgarīka, a Gujarāṭi quarterly, Vol. VI, No. I, where the author has traced the details of the migrations of these people.

<sup>3</sup> See :

i—Kāthiāwāḍi Duhā, by Raichura, pp. 39, 40, 92, 97, etc.,  
Sorāṭhi, Bahāravaṭiā by Meghani I, 10, 33, etc.

(ईणे) — *īm̐ṇe*—Sorāṭhi B. I, 91.

*īthī*—Kāṭhi, D. P. 18.

(ईनो) *ino*—*Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX, Part II., p. 419.



and Paṭṭaṇi dialects. But in both these cases it appears in oblique cases. Thus this *i* happens to be a peculiarity of Sorāṭhi.

Beames has given a list of the two demonstrative pronouns in different languages that he has examined.<sup>1</sup> He gives for Sindhi, remote demon. Pr. *i*, *hi* and *he*; but Dr. Trump, believes<sup>2</sup>, them to be *hi*, *he* and *hiu* which result into *i*, *e* and *iu* respectively in Lāḍi dialect, by the elision of *h*. This *i* of the Lāḍi seems to be identical with Sorāṭhi *ī*. This would be further justified by our previous ethnological discussions which have shown that all those tribes were, at one or the other time, residing in Sind.

Guj. *e* comes from *etad*. *Etad* yields in Prakrit *eam*. But *etad* also shows, another form *īnam* in Prakrit. Prof. N. B. Divatia has incidentally shown<sup>3</sup> that this *īnam* may be derived either from *etena* or from its gen. form. Moreover Siddhahema<sup>4</sup> considers *īnam* as an accusative or nominative form. In Śaṅbhāṣāchandrikā it is taken<sup>5</sup> as a nom. form. But how can we account for this *i* in the forms of *etad* in Pr.? Beames writes:<sup>6</sup> "But it is perhaps useless to seek for the origin of the modern forms in any written work. They have their origin, in all probability, in a much lower stratum of popular speech." But he does not investigate further. Many Prakrit forms and phases, which are not explained by the extant Prakrit grammars, are often solved by a reference to the Vedic grammar. It should be remembered that according to the view,<sup>7</sup> that is now being widely accepted, Prakrits existed side by side with the classical Sanskrit from the earliest times.

In the Vedic language we find, together with *etad* and other pronouns a pronominal form *im*; but it is not certain whether it is a remote or a near demon. pronoun. Sāyaṇa explains<sup>8</sup> it

<sup>1</sup> Comparative grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India, 1872-79, by John Beames. ii, 317-18.

<sup>2</sup> Grammar of the Sindhi Language, by E. Trump, Leipzig, 1872, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> Gujarati Language, Vol. II, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> VIII, 3, 79.

<sup>5</sup> Bombay Sans. and Pr. Series, p. 124.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 317.

<sup>7</sup> An Intr. to Comp. Philology, by Gune, p. 148.

<sup>8</sup> RV. VI, 53, 5-6.

by the accusative form of *idam*. But Macdonell<sup>1</sup> translates it by 'Him' which shows that it may have been used as a Remote demon. pronoun also. This *im*, if taken as an accusative form would directly yield *i* as the original pronoun. That this *i* or *im* should have any connection with *etad* does not seem probable, but confused memory of a forgotten age may have given rise to the optional form *inam* in the forms of *etad*.

The above discussion, thus, shows that the Vedic language evinces the existence of a pronoun *i* which may be identified with Sorāṭhī *ī*. Like the peak of a submerged mountain, this Sorāṭhī *ī*, even now, reminds us of the Vedic age!

## 2

NOM. PLURAL TERMINATION *U* OR *Um*.<sup>2</sup>*Examples.*

## Masculine.

Guj. proper.		Sorāṭhī.	
Sing.	Plural.	Sing.	Plural.
pāṇo	pāṇā—o	pāṇo	pāṇā—o—u
hāth	hāth—o	hāth	hāth—o—u
bhāyado	bhāyadā—o	bhāyado	bhāyadā—o—u

*N.B.*—I have noted in the case of Sorāṭhī the optional plural of endings, but they are heard in the speech of the educated only.

## Femínine.

Sing.	Plural. (Guj. Proper)	Plural. (Sorāṭhī)
Gāy	Gāy—o	Gāy—o—um
Chopḍi <sup>3</sup>	Chopḍi—o	Chopḍi—o—um
Gaṅgā	Gaṅgā—o	Gaṅgā—o—um <sup>4</sup> .

<sup>1</sup> Vedic Grammar of Students, p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> For its use see :

Sorāṭhī B. i, 19 ; Kāṭhī. D.P. 6, 19, 26, 42 ; Raḍhiāḷi Rāt 6, etc. it is very diffuse.

<sup>3</sup> Beames does not recognise the existence of *ī* and *ū* endings for Guj. nouns (pp. 196-97); but long *ī* endings in Gujarāṭi are quite usual.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. evī pachchīś Gaṅgāum āve to ya māre sum ?

## NEUTER.

Sing.	Plural.	Plural.
	(Guj. Proper)	(Sorāṭhi)
Chhokarūṃ	Chhokarāṃ—o	Chhokarāṃ—o—uṃ
Zāḍ	Zāḍ—o	Zāḍ—o—uṃ.

The above illustrations will make it clear that whatever the gender and whatever the ending of a noun may be, in Sorāṭhi it always takes in Nom. pl., along with other terminations, *u* and *uṃ* masculine showing *u* and the other two genders *uṃ*.

In Prākṛit, Masculine nouns ending in *i* and *u*, and Feminine nouns ending in *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u* and *ū* take in Nom. pl. along with other termination *au* or *u*.<sup>1</sup> In Apabhraṃśa the same has been retained. Moreover, in Apabhraṃśa, for neuter nouns there is an exception. Those nouns that had a *ka* at the end, took *u* in Nom. and Acc. sing.<sup>2</sup> It is a known fact that this addition of *ka* was, once, very extensively used.

Modern Aryan languages, also show this *u*. For nouns ending in *u*, there is a universal ter. *u*. But in Sindhi, the use of this *u*, is very wide. In Feminine, Sindhi shows *u*, for *ā*, *a*, *i* and *ī* endings.<sup>3</sup> As Sindhi has lost the Neuter, it will be seen that neuter Apabhraṃśa terminations have influenced other genders.

Beames observes for this *u* or *uṃ*;<sup>4</sup> "No satisfactory reason for this form has been shown. Even if we admit that the 'o' of Pr. plurals has been changed to *u*, this does not account for the anusvāra, which is too important a feature to have crept in by accident. It may have been extended to the nominative from the oblique cases of the Apabhraṃśa pl. (see Lassen, p. 464) as is often the case in other languages." Yet I offer two alternative explanations for this phenomenon, of which the second seems to me to be even more plausible than the theory of the Apabhraṃśa oblique cases.

<sup>1</sup> Intr. to Prākṛit, by Woolner, p. 31 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Purātattva, a Guj. quarterly, Vol. I, p. 363 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Beames, *Ibid*, ii, 196-97. But Beames is not correct here. Nouns with *u* and *ū* endings do not take any ter. which is accepted for Sindhi by Dr. Trumpp (see *Ibid*, p. 106).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p. 209.

(1) As is shown above the use of the term. *u*, in Prākṛits and Apabhraṃśa, was very wide. There appears in every language an age of unification, when in the absence of great grammarians the language becomes a language of the people, and minor and rigid distinctions are forgotten. Something of the sort may have happened here also.

(2) We have also seen above that a *ka* was added to the noun-stems very extensively at one time or other. Prof. N. B. Divatia recognises<sup>1</sup> the force of this *ka*. We may, therefore, suppose that the process that was limited to Neuter in Apabhraṃśa was made universal, and every noun, after the model of the Apabhraṃśa neuter nouns with the optional *ka* endings, took *u* or *um*.

### 3

#### ELISION OF *h*.

The aspirate *h* seen in words like *thame*, *mhane*, etc., has been considered as an after-effect of its shifting places in some of its antecedent forms. Though this sound exists in some parts of Gujarat, it is elided in Sorāṭhī and some other dialects. For this absence of *h*-sound it is argued that men have acquired the habit of this false pronunciation, due to the faulty system of spelling adopted in the Government Vernacular Reading Series. But it is the experience of many that even illiterate people, quite innocent of modern culture, have a tendency to elide this *h*, at least in Sorāṭhī.

The reason for this elision of *h* is phonetic, the tendency for aspiration, a well-known phenomenon in philology being absent in this case. Marathi elides it in (आमचे) *āmache* and preserves it in *āhmī*. Sindhi shows it in *avhīm*, *tavhīm*, etc., and drops it in *asīm*, *āum*. In Hindi this aspiration is very wide. In Sorāṭh itself Junāgadh people would pronounce *sāmo* as *sāhmbho*, while people on Unā side would have *hūnum* for *unum*. Thus the retention of *h* is optional. It has been already seen that Sorāṭhī is very much allied to Kachhi, and Kachhis are almost notorious for this elision of *h*. The first person Singular which preserves the aspiration in all

<sup>1</sup> GLL. i, 190-96.



the modern Aryan languages of India has dropped it in Kachhi and Sindhi *arim*. But amongst Kachhis the tendency for not aspirating is even more marked than amongst Sindhis. Plurals like *tavhim*, *avhim*, are conspicuous by their absence in Kachhi, as in Lādi. Again if you ask an average Kachhi to pronounce *kahyūm* he will express it as *kiyūm* or *kiūm* or even *kyūm*. It will be seen that *kahyūm* by the elision of *h* and by the process of Pratisamprasāraṇa will yield *kiūm*. This tendency of avoiding aspiration is thus seen in Kachhi and Sorāṭhi alike.

## 4

PAST PASSIVE PARTICIPLE<sup>1</sup> TERMINATION *ṇum* (ॠ)

Gujarati proper.  
bolāyūm  
lakhāyūm

Sorāṭhi.  
bolāṇum  
lakhāṇum

The fact that these forms change according to the gender of the subject indicates their participial character.

Roots of all descriptions have this termination applied to them in Sorāṭhi. In Sindhi also it is applied to some P.P.P.s.<sup>2</sup>

But Dr. Trumpp simply calls them irregular, while Beames compares some of these with the corresponding irregular P.P.P.s. in Sanskrit.<sup>3</sup> But even our Sanskrit grammarians, on account of the break in the Vedic traditions, have often explained forms, for which they could not account, as irregular.<sup>4</sup> Today when the Vedic language itself is studied scientifically, we must try to find out the causes of these apparent irregularities, in the Vedic language. Thus we find that in Vedic grammar along with *ta* there was also a *na* as the termination of P.P.P. This *na* was applied to roots ending in long vowels, or in *ch*, *d* and *j*.<sup>5</sup> And keeping in view

<sup>1</sup> For its actual use see Sorāṭhi B. i, 20 ; Kāṭhi. D. P. 11, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Trumpp (*Ibid*) p. 272 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid* iii, p. 139.

<sup>4</sup> A similar case is seen in Prākṛit. Hemachandra, in his Deśināmā-mālā, has enumerated many words as deśi, which can be and are being traced to Sanskrit, to-day.

<sup>5</sup> See Vedic Gr. pp. 183-4.

the fact that in Sindhi where it exhibits this termination, it is applied to roots having *ā* endings, it can be argued that this *na* which in Sindhi was as yet vague and uncertain, became universalised in Sorāṭhī passing as it did through Kachhi.

This *num* termination is not noted by any one. Even Grierson, though he has incidentally given one illustration, has not discussed it.<sup>1</sup>

## 5.

### ABSENCE OF WIDE *e* AND *o*.

The wide sound of *e* and *o* heard in Gujarāṭī and Mārāwāḍī distinguishes them from all other modern Aryan languages in India. The genesis of these wide *e* and *o* has been ably discussed by Prof. Divatia.<sup>2</sup>

No one can deny its existence in Gujarāṭī, but speaking of the Gujarāṭī language as a whole it should be stated that its use is partial, it being absent in some parts of Kāṭhiāwāḍ. This will be proved by the fact that students in those parts, when commencing their English studies, are frequently unable to pronounce the wide sounds of that language. This is a difficulty experienced by all the teachers there. I have myself seen Hālārī, ridiculing the wide pronunciation of words like *Chopḍī* of Bhāvana-gari students studying at Rajkot and other places. The absence of this wide sound, at least in Hālār and Sorāṭh, is indisputable.

Prof. Divatia has traced the process of wide *e* and *o*, thus:

upaviśati=uvavisai=uvaisai=baisai=bese

kah punah=ka uṇa=kavaṇa=kōṇa

In both these cases according to him, the intermediate *ai* and *au*, are first changed to *ay* and *av* by what he calls the pratisamprasāraṇa process, and then result into wide *e* and *o*. I am in full agreement with this derivation; yet I propose to examine the

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 427.

<sup>2</sup> See GLL i, 125-56; also his paper "Phonogenesis of the wide *E* and *O* in Gujarati" read at the first Oriental Conference.





## 6.

i, FOLLOWING A CONSONANT IS NOT CHANGED TO LAGHUPRAYATNA YATNA YAKĀRA.

In Gujarati proper, in many places an *i* following a consonant is often changed to a laghuprayatna yakāra, as:—

akhi=akhī=Āmkhya.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly the *ya* in words like *gāmṭhya*, *rītya*, *jātya*, *lāvyā*, *bolya*, etc., is to be traced to an earlier *i*. But in all these words Sorāṭhī, like Surātī, invariably use *amkha*, *gāmṭha*, *rita*, *jatā*, *lāva*, *bola*, etc., thus showing their tendency to drop the final *y* or strictly to change the final *i* to *a*, for it is difficult to believe that Sorāṭhī ever had this laghuprayatna *y* which was afterwards dropped yielding an *a* ending.

This tendency of changing *śiva* to *śava* has exposed Gujarātīs to the ridicule of others.<sup>2</sup>

But Sorāṭhī avoids this *y* very scrupulously; not only does it not show *y*, in the above cases but even in those forms of the past tense like *pākyum*, *vāgyum* which are evolved from earlier past participial forms, it very frequently shows forms like *pākum*, *lāgum*, etc. Mr. Meghānī has, at one place, used the form *go* for *gayo*.<sup>3</sup>

But the absence of the knowledge of this tendency of avoiding *y* has led to many textual misrepresentations. Sir George Grierson uses the spelling *lāvyā*, *āvyā*, in the specimen of Hālārī.<sup>4</sup> Mr. Meghānī, too, has the same tendency of showing this *y*. The reason of this illusion is that in these parts the actual pronunciation is something like *lāivā*, *āivā* etc.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For other examples and full discussion see GLL i, 224 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *gurjarāṇām mukham bhraṣṭam*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Rasadhārā*, i, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 427.

<sup>5</sup> See, *koi bijum hārye chhe? Dādāji ni vāto*, p. 65.

have *dhupa lāvyā*, *dīpa lāvyā*—*Kaṅkārāṭī*, p. 42.

*uṭhya elā*—*Rasadhārā*, iii, 67.

In actual practice, however, this *y* is either totally absent showing an *a* ending or as noted above the penultimate shows either a *y* or an *i*; as *lāva lāyvā* or *lāivā*. This penultimate *i* may result from the Pratisamprasāraṇa and metathesis of *y*, but as I have already said, the Sorāṭhī does not show this *y* at all. Therefore, the presence of this penultimate *i* should be explained by the process of metathesis of final *i* seen in earlier forms. Pronunciations like *lāivā* may be due to the first tendency. I note that Grierson has spelt *māryo* as *māryo* and *māiro* in his specimen of Surātī.

## 7

*e* AND *u* OF THE ABSOLUTIVE.

These are not much used, but in Sorāṭhi Bahāravaṭiā they are used three or four times.

hāmke lāu	i, 82
dove le	i, 83
melu dyo	i, 47, etc.

These examples are so very outstanding that they must be noted as a peculiarity of the Sorāṭhi dialect.

Comparative study shows that Marathi has *āna* for the absolute termination, and Sindhi has *e* and *o*; Beames notices only *e* for Sindhi<sup>1</sup> but according to Trumpp, passive verbs in Sindhi take 'o' for the absolute.<sup>2</sup>

This *e* is derived by all from Prākṛit *ia*, but 'o' of Sindhi, noted by Trumpp has not been satisfactorily explained anywhere.

It will be remembered that in Prākṛit there was for the absolute, *ua* along with *ia*.<sup>3</sup> As *ia* by dropping the final *a* and by *guṇa* yields *e*, so *ua* by the same process would yield Sindhi *o*, and by simply dropping *a*, would give Sorāṭhi *u*. Guṇe suggests<sup>4</sup> the derivation of the above *ia* from Skr. *ya* or *tya* and *ua* from Skr. *tva* which seems plausible.

## 8

NOM. PLURAL ENDING *ām*.

gīdhām māmśa bhrakhaṁt—Kathi D.p.5.

sāyām māguṁ itāro—Kathi D. p. 50 (It is voc. here).

ivām nāmām—Sorāṭhi B. i, 91.

The above examples show its existence. This termination is also seen in Nom. pl., in Sindhi and Punjabi feminine nouns of a

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid* iii, 232.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*. 281-83. Trumpp, for Guj. Absolute notices a form like *lakhini* and quite erroneously derives it from *ia*, perhaps taking the final *i* as the termination.

<sup>3</sup> Guṇe: *Op. cit.* p. 249.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*. p. 250.

ending.<sup>1</sup> Sorāṭhī uses it everywhere, irrespective of the gender of the noun. It is a bit difficult to explain this *ām̐*. Prākṛit and Apab. had *ā* for Nom. pl. in Masc. and Fem.<sup>2</sup> But the anusvāra seen in Sorāṭhī, Sindhi and Punjabi is difficult to explain. Some people have a tendency to nasalize the finals of some words. This tendency may be said to be present here also, though I am not quite sure of that.

I would like to mention here, a phenomenon, the nature of which is not clear to me. Some verses like the following are met with :—

- (1) śyāma ugāri raṇa rahe  
e rajapūtām̐ rīt—Kāthi. D. p. 3.
- (2) caṁcaḷa apacaḷa camakavo  
ati āra ghaṇā roṣa  
e turaṁgaṁ paṁc guṇa  
pāṁce tariyām̐ doṣa—Kathi D. p. 54.  
also on 55 tariyām̐ doṣa is used.
- (3) gaṇa māthe gaṇa kare  
i to vahevārām̐ vaṭ  
avagaṇa upara gaṇa kare  
ene seja talāyām̐ khaṭ—Kathi D.p. 67.
- (4) tera triyā trahum̐ karaliyo  
paṁcoryo kekāṇa  
pacīsa varaseṁ arāṁparām̐  
puruśām̐ eha pramāṇa—Kathi D. p. 85.
- (5) śīra paḍe dhaḍa laḍe  
truṭe bakhatarām̐ kor—Kāthi D. p. 99.

Out of these examples (1), (3) and (5) have this termination in the sense of genitive, while in (2) and (4) its case is doubtful to decide ; it may be gen. or loc. Moreover the practice of dropping terminations is often seen amongst poets as a poetic license. Thus it may even be our nom. pl., *ām̐*, though it seems less plausible as even nom. pl. would be a termination and that fact would go against the abovementioned poetic license. I therefore think that the *ām̐* to be seen in the above stanzas may be a gen. or loc. termination.

<sup>1</sup> Beames : *Ibid* ii, 196.

<sup>2</sup> Guṇe : *Ibid* p. 206.

Gen. *ām* may be traced to Sk. gen. pl. *nām* and loc. *ām* may be evolved from *mām* itself an evolute of Pr. *mmi*.

## 9

## DECLENSION OF PRONOUNS, ADJECTIVES, P.P.P.s. and NUMERALS.

- (1) *ā kavaṇiurūm* = *ā konī*.<sup>1</sup>
- (2) *tāriyurūm* to *no maḷiyurūm* = *tāri* to *na maḷi*.<sup>2</sup>
- (3) *vāturūm* *vagatāliyurūm* = *vāto* *vigatvāli*.<sup>3</sup>
- (4) *cijurūm* *Cakhāḍiurūm* = *cijo* *cakhhāḍi*.<sup>4</sup>
- (5) *kaḍyurūm* *maṇḍyurūm* *kaḷvā* = *kado* *maṇḍi* *kaḷvā*.<sup>5</sup>
- (6) *e cāruṇe* *na cūke* = *e cārne* *na cūke*.<sup>6</sup>
- (7) *uparchaliyurūm* *ajā vāturūm* *ema j valū* = *uparchali* *vāto*.<sup>7</sup>

It will be clear from the above examples that pronouns [(1) and (2)], adjectives [(3) and (7)], P.P.P.s. [(2), (4) and (5)] and numerals [(7)] were declined even as their respective substantives were declined. In Sanskrit, Prākṛit and Apab, pronouns, adjectives, participles and numerals take the same gender, case and number as their substantives. In Gujarati proper, these parts of speech are affected by the gender but generally not by the case of their substantives. It will be seen that the above examples remarkably agree with the practice in Sanskrit & Prakrit.

This tendency is marked in Sindhi also. Trumpp remarks,<sup>8</sup> "The general rule, that the adjective must agree with its substantive in gender, number and case holds good in Sindhi likewise". Though I cannot say whether this is the case with pronouns and P.P.P.s., yet it is no wonder that Sorāṭhi, which is so intimately connected with Sindhi and Kachhi, should intensify the processes seen there.

This inclination to intensify the inherited tendencies is probably due to the careless and indifferent nature of the speakers. This indiffer-

<sup>1</sup> Sorāṭhi B. i, 83.

<sup>2</sup> Sorāṭhi B. i, 83.

<sup>3</sup> Kāṭhi. D. p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> Kāṭhi. D. p. 68.

<sup>5</sup> Kāṭhi. D. p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> Kāṭhi. D. p. 40.

<sup>7</sup> Kāṭhi. D. p. 83.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid*, p. 145.



ence to accuracy has produced some remarkable forms, totally incorrect grammatically. There is a verse,

vātur̥ reśe vīr

bhala taṇi bhāṇanyur̥—Kāṭhī. D.p. 75.

which shows an absurd phenomenon ; for it is to be explained as a form of *bhāṇa* with gen. *nī* and nom. pl. *um*, showing a confused and combined use of these terminations. *Memṭhī* seen in Sorāṭhī B. i, 27, is another example in point, though it only shows a double termination of the same case, due to pure confusion.

### CONCLUSION

These are some of the distinct peculiarities of the Sorāṭhī language. A wide range of investigation is still left to future workers. Sorāṭhī phonology which presents many interesting features is altogether ignored here. Many other aspects also are left out of consideration. Yet let us recount the conclusions of the present survey.

At the outset, we had called this a half-developed dialect. This is fully borne out by our discussions. We have found that many peculiarities seen in Sorāṭhī are to be traced to their ultimate Sindhi forms. Sindhi itself is in the process of evolution, for many of its present phonological, phonetic and grammatical features show that it is still in Apabhramśa stage. The same characteristic is evinced by Sorāṭhī, which is, as we have seen, a dialect of the tribes that have evidently migrated to Sorāṭh from Sind and Cutch.

The tribes that speak Sorāṭhī have preserved, intensified and even unified many features seen in Sindhi and Kachhi as exceptions, even though many centuries have elapsed since their separation from the original stock. One of the reasons of the above phenomenon is illiteracy and the concomitant general indifference to accuracy, which are always marked in wandering and unsettled tribes. Moreover want of culture would, at transitional periods, keep such tribes in the same state, effects of transition being seen only in levelling up difficulties and avoiding intricacies and irregularities of exceptions and variations.

We can see, however, that even now this dialect preserves



traces of its migratory movements. Language mirrors the past history of its speakers very faithfully, if only we know how to interpret it.

Vedic *i* like a peak of a submerged mountain still exists in Sorāṭhi. The universal absolutive termination *num* even today preserves its Vedic origin. Agreement of pronouns, etc. in gender, number and case with their substantives, reminds us even now of Apabhraṃśa days. The tendency of avoiding aspiration clearly shows the migratory movements of the speakers from Sind *via* Kachh. So does the short sound of *e* and *o*, which is seen both in Sindhi and in Kachhi.

All these features point to past history. They also indicate two clear tendencies—one of general indifference to accuracy, and the other of unification and avoidance of variations.

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## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

'AKṢARA'—a forgotten chapter in the History of Indian Philosophy ; by Dr. P. M. MODI, M.A., PH.D., Professor of Sanskrit, Samaldas College, Bhavnagar, 1932. Pp. xii+121+56 (appendices).

This is the thesis presented by Dr. Modi for the PH. D. Degree in the University of Kiel.

This is a thought-provoking work. Dr. Modi has traced the theory of 'Akṣara' from the earliest Upaniṣads up to the times of the Vedāntasūtras. He displays learning, industry and acuteness. He is not afraid of differing from such great *savants* as Prof. Hopkins, Dr. Deussen, and very often crosses swords with them. He starts with a comparative table setting forth the meanings attributed by Indian ācāryas and Western translators to 'akṣara' in the eleven passages of the Bhagavadgītā where it occurs in a philosophical sense. He shows how the Chāndogya and Bṛhadāraṇyaka, the early prose Upaniṣads, speak of both akṣara (impersonal Absolute) and puruṣa (personal Absolute) and how they are not concerned to decide whether the final reality is personal or impersonal. He then proceeds to the earlier metrical Upaniṣads (like the Katha and Muṇḍaka) and holds that they placed *puruṣa* higher than *akṣara*, that both were regarded as the goals and both were styled *vidyās*. The next stage is reached in the Bhagavadgītā which accepts the distinction between akṣara and puruṣa taught by the earlier metrical Upaniṣads and also says that puruṣa is beyond (*para*) akṣara. The Gītā develops the theory that meditation on puruṣa is preferable to that on akṣara, because the former is easier than the latter ; and the Gītā says that puruṣa presides over akṣara which is the abode (*dhāman*). Gītā identifies Kṛṣṇa with puruṣa and is always careful not to identify puruṣa with *brahman* which is identified with akṣara. The Gītā teaches three paths of absolution, the *Sāṅkhya*, *Yoga* and *Upāsanā* or *bhakti* and that akṣara or puruṣa can be reached by anyone of these paths. Sāṅkhya and Yoga in the Gītā mean respectively 'renunciation' (with knowledge) and 'path of actions' (with knowledge). They are not two steps on the same path (as Śaṅkarācārya says) but two

paths to either of the two goals, viz. akṣara and puruṣa. The learned author then examines the twelfth *parvan* of the Mahābhārata and finds that therein the tenets of four different schools are set out, viz. the Aupaniṣadas (chap. 182-253), the Sāṅkhya (chap. 302-317), Yoga (chap. 308) and Pāñcarātra (chap. 334-352). Dr. Modi takes great pains to point out how the Sāṅkhya in the Mahābhārata differs from the classical sāṅkhya, how both Hopkins and Deussen are wrong in their interpretation of chap. 308, how the Mahābhārata mentions two schools of Yoga, one founded by Hiraṇyagarbha and the other by Rudra. He states that the Pāñcarātra school in the Mahābhārata completely identifies akṣara and puruṣa under the name of Nārāyaṇa, that according to that school the supreme Reality is possessed of contradictory attributes. Dr. Modi then comes to the treatment of akṣara in the Brahma-sūtras. He believes (p. 92) that he has discovered the key to the elucidation of that somewhat abstruse and recondite work. According to Dr. Modi, the Sūtrakāra discriminates between akṣara and puruṣa and the most striking feature in the sūtrakāra's view of the Highest Being (*para*) is the systematic and rational interpretation which he gives for the first time in the history of Indian Philosophy to the twofold contradictory statements regarding the attributes of the supreme one.

The author of the Brahma-sūtras, according to Dr. Modi, does not regard akṣara as lower than puruṣa but rather treats the two as identical and holds that the distinction made between the two in some texts is for the purpose of meditation only and that the same Supreme Being called *para* is to be meditated upon as akṣara or puruṣa. Thus though akṣara taught in the ancient Upaniṣads and the Gītā is still recognisable even in Bādarāyaṇa's sūtras, even the traces of akṣara disappear in the work of Śaṅkarācārya, the renowned successor of Bādarāyaṇa. It is hence that Dr. Modi describes the history of akṣara as a forgotten chapter.

One is constrained to say that the learned writer's treatment of the Brahma-sūtras is scrappy and wanting in lucidity and logical sequence. It would have been very convenient if the author had collected in the appendix all the principal original Sanskrit texts, particularly of the Upaniṣads and the Brahma-sūtra.

The above is only a very brief and most inadequate summary

of the principal topics discussed in this interesting and instructive book. In spite of the drawbacks pointed out above the work deserves to be carefully read by all students of ancient Indian philosophy, particularly Vedānta, even though one may demur to some of the assumptions and interpretations of Dr. Modi.

P. V. K.

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PALLAVA GENEALOGY. By Rev. H. HERAS (Indian Historical Research Institute, Bombay).

This carefully executed work comprising three charts and some twenty pages of notes, represents an earnest attempt to solve to some extent at least, the tangle of Pallava history. The author holds that there was only one Pallava dynasty, an unbroken line of twenty-four kings, and that the manner of dividing their pedigree into two portions is totally improper. The conquest of Kāncīpuram, the first significant achievement of the dynasty was accomplished by Kumāravishṇu I, and the event was signalled by the assumption of the title of Mahārājā by the ruling king and by the adoption of Sanskrit instead of Prākṛit as the official language. These and other interesting conclusions which the author has drawn would demand the serious attention of those interested in the early history of South India.

B. G. M.

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THE SPHOTASIDDHI OF ĀCĀRYA MAṆḌANAMISRA WITH THE GOPĀLIKĀ OF RṢIPUTRA PARAMESVARA. Edited by S. K. RĀMANĀTHA ŚĀSTRĪ, Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 6, Pp. 304. Rs. 3.

The Madras University deserves to be congratulated for being the first to bring out an edition of this rare and ancient work. The Sphoṭasiddhi of Maṇḍanamisra is a short work in 37 kārīkās in which the great Maṇḍanamisra expounds the abstruse doctrine of sphoṭa with a few brief explanations in prose. Pāṇini himself was aware of this doctrine, as he mentions a predecessor named Sphoṭāyana. Pātañjali in his great bhāṣya says that in the Saṅgraha of Vyādi one of the principal topics of discussion was the question whether śabda is nitya or kārya. The Vākyapadiya of

Hari also elaborately examines the theory of sphoṭa. Maṇḍana miśra several times refers to the kārīkās of Hari. The commentary Gopālikā is a learned one. The editor in his Sanskrit introduction goes into the question of the life and times of the commentator. At the end, an attempt is made to identify all the quotations occurring in the text and the commentary. All lovers of Sanskrit and particularly of the philosophical literature therein will most heartily welcome this work.

P. V. K.

ĀSANAS. PART I. (Popular Yoga. Vol. I) 1933. Pp. 16+183 Rs. 3-4-0. PRĀNAYĀMA. Part I (Popular Yoga. Vol. II) 1931. Pp. 15+156. Rs. 2-8-0. Both by SHRIMAT KUVALAYĀNANDA, KAIVALYADHĀMA, Lonavla, India.

The authorities of the Kaivalyadhāma are to be congratulated on the publication of these two volumes, the first of their projected popular Yoga series. Yogic exercises have from times immemorial been known in this country to confer physical and spiritual benefit on those who practise them, and they have recently been subjected to the test of modern science and have stood it well. The Kaivalyadhāma of Lonavla has been doing very valuable work in spreading the knowledge of the theory and practice of Yoga at the Ashram and through its quarterly Yoga-Mimāṃsā. These two books are based on direct traditional teaching, original scientific research and wide practical experience of the author. They are addressed to the layman, and are, therefore, less technical in character, severely practical. General psychological and anatomical explanations, however, have not been omitted and they serve to add to the utility of the handbooks. They are very profusely illustrated and might well serve as self-instructors. The succeeding volumes in the series will be awaited with interest.

B. G. M.

KATYAYANA SMṚTI SĀRODDHĀR. Text (reconstructed), Translation, Notes and Introduction, by P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M., Pp. xlii+372, Bombay 1933. Rs. 4.

Mr. Kane has already well-known works like the History of Dharmaśāstra to his credit. The idea of publishing a reconstruction of some Smṛtis occurred to him, as he says in his preface,



while engaged in writing the history of Dharmaśāstra. He has already published a reconstruction of Śaṅkha-Likḥita in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute at Poona (*vide* Vols. VII and VIII) and he has offered a collection of quotations from Kātyāyana in the present volume. A reconstruction of Kātyāyana on these lines was made in 1927 by Mr. Narayan Chandra Bandopādhyāya when he published about 800 verses at Calcutta. He collected passages from five works only *viz.* the Dāyabhāga, the Vivādaratnākara, the Smṛti-candrikā, the Parāśara-Mādhaviya, and the Viramitrodaya.

Mr. Kane has culled together his verses from over twenty authors. He has further enhanced the value of his collection by the addition of critical and illustrative notes as well as a translation in English. The volume is thus of much greater use to a student of Hindu Law and Dharmaśāstra than the other edition mentioned above.

The Smṛtis are the principal source of Hindu Law; the number of them is variously computed, and many of these are not available. The principal Smṛtis are about twenty in number, though the list may go up to about a hundred. Only some three or four of these, such as Manu, Yājñavalkya, Parāśara are considered as authoritative and generally followed in all the Schools. The principal commentaries are on these Smṛtis, though the commentators in their glosses refer to the other Smṛtis.

Of the more important Smṛtis thus referred to by the commentators Kātyāyana occupies a very prominent place among the Smṛti writers on Law and Procedure. Next to Nārada and Brhaspati, he is cited on Vyavahāra more frequently than any other writer in such commentaries and digests as the Mitākṣarā, the Smṛti-candrikā, the Viramitrodaya and the Vyavahāra-mayūkha. The original text not being available, its extent can only be gauged by reference to the number of passages on each topic cited in the commentaries. Mr. Kane has given a comparative table showing the number of verses on several topics in Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Brhaspati; and from this Mr. Kane rightly infers that the extent of the Kātyāyana Smṛti, even on a modest computation, must be about 1500 verses.

Of the total quotations collected together in this volume



practically half have reference to Procedure and Evidence ; thus, it can be clearly seen that Kātyāyana was considered by the commentators to represent the high watermark of Smṛti literature on judicial procedure. His views about law and rules of procedure are advanced like those of Nārada and Bṛhaspati, and in certain matters such as definitions in general and elaboration of rules about Stridhan, he is even in advance of these two writers. He has given numerous definitions such as those of Vyavahāra, Prāḍvivāka, Stobhaka, Dharmādhikaraṇa, Tīrita, Anuśiṣṭa, Sāmanta, etc. He seems to have been the first to invent some new terms. For example, he defines Paścātkāra as a judgment given in favour of the plaintiff after a hot contest between plaintiff and defendant, while the term Jayapatra is restricted by him to the judgment given on admission by defendant, or a judgment dismissing the suit on various grounds. He has also laid down a stringent rule that if a man abandons a ground of defence or attack and puts forward a less stringent one he would not be allowed to put forward again the stronger ground after a decisive judgment of the court. This resembles the 4th exception to section 11 of the Indian Civil Procedure Code about *res judicata*.

Though Kātyāyana has nowhere expressly mentioned Nārada, he has elaborated the four pādas or stages of vyavahāra which were briefly described by Nārada. Kātyāyana seems to have taken Bṛhaspati as his model in the order and treatment of the subject to be dealt with. He clearly follows Bṛhaspati. Verses 29-30 published in the present volume show that Kātyāyana had before him the division of 18 titles of law into "dhanamūla" (Civil) and "himsāmūla" (Criminal) made by Bṛhaspati. Similarly the discussion about the decision by Dharma, Vyavahāra, Caritra and Rājaśāsana in verses 35-51 is an elaboration of the teaching of Bṛhaspati on the subject.

While discussing the last stage of Rājaśāsana, Kātyāyana lays down the rule that a king ought not to decide against texts, and that the king must decide in accordance with Śāstra, and when there was no text, by the usage of the country. Verses 44-51 lay down these rules. Verse 48 lays down that there should be a record of usages kept under the Royal Seal.

As Kātyāyana refers to Bhṛgu, and Bṛhaspati, he is later than

them. He is quoted by Mitākṣarā, Aparārka, and other writers of the 11th and 12th centuries as a Smṛtikāra of equal authority with Yājñavalkya, Nārada, and Bṛhaspati. Medhātithi on Manu refers to Kātyāyana the rule that in case of conflict between the dictates of Dharmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra, the king should prefer the former. Medhātithi flourished between 825-900 A. D. Viśvarūpa (on Yāji) who flourished in the first half of the 9th century quotes 11 verses of Kātyāyana. Viśvarūpa looked upon Kātyāyana as a great Smṛti writer like Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Bṛhaspati. This position he could not have attained in a century or two. Hence Kātyāyana cannot be placed later than 600 A. D., and as he is later than Yājñavalkya, Nārada and Bṛhaspati, he could not have flourished before the 3rd or 4th century A. D. Therefore, the Smṛti of Kātyāyana must, according to Mr. Kane, be placed between 300-600 A.D.

Kātyāyana Smṛti thus appears to belong to the period of Hindu revival under the Guptas. It appears from some of the references that questions like kings' ownership and jurisdiction were discussed in those days.

It would be worth while to study the gradual change of Law on several topics from Kauṭilya to Kātyāyana, and further on. It would form an interesting study to students interested in the reform of Hindu law.

The author has given very critical notes on several verses, and as an instance the reader might profitably refer to the learned note on verse 560 at pages 229-230, which testifies to the close study of the texts as well as of the case-law.

The book is thus a very valuable reconstruction of the text. It would be useful to the lawyer as well as to the student of Dharmaśāstra, and Mr. Kane has rendered a very great service by his publication of the book.

S. Y. A.

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SANGĪTA BHĀVA. BY MAHARANA VIJAYADEVJI OF DHARAMPUR.  
D. B. TARAPOREVALA SONS & Co., Bombay. Pp. xv+316.  
Rs. 20.

This very handsomely produced volume is the first, of the projected series of six, whose aim is to provide the kind of literature that could prove positively helpful to those generally interested

in Indian Music. This practical objective which has guided the author in the selection of his material and its arrangement, distinguishes it from the bulk of the literature on the subject which is principally academic in outlook. It is written in four languages, English, French, Hindi and Gujarati, so as to ensure for it a wider appeal than has been achieved by other books on the subject ; but the high price, which is perhaps justified by the excellence of the get-up may well put it beyond the reach of the ordinary reader, and thus defeat, at least to some extent, the author's main object.

The present volume deals with Raga Bhairava and its feminine counter parts, Bhairavī, Bengali, Madhu-Mādhavi, Bairāri and Sindhavī. Mr. Vakil's foreword and the author's own preface advert to the present conditions of Indian music and the possibilities of its progressive development. A brief resume of the origin, history and characteristics of Indian music is followed by short descriptions of the Ragas and of their component notes.

But the special feature of the work is the staff notations of the Rāgas which the author has offered for the benefit of Western Students. They are merely suggestive, intended to denote the main structure of the melodies. The innovation will doubtless prove of interest to many.

B. G. M.

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THE ṚGVEDĀNUKRAMANĪ OF MĀDHAVABHAṬṬA. Edited by C. KUNHAN RAJA. Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 2, Pp. 365. Rs. 3-8-0.

This work will be very useful in understanding the Ṛgveda and its traditional interpretation. The work is a reconstruction carried out by Dr. Raja by putting together all the kārīkās found in a commentary of Mādhava (not the brother of the famous Sāyaṇa) on the Ṛgveda. Dr. Raja in his learned introduction states how he planned the work and gives very interesting information about Mādhavabhaṭṭa, his probable date and his position among the commentators of the Ṛgveda. The kārīkās here collected deal with svara, ākhyāta, nipāta, śabdavṛtti, ṛṣi, chandas, devatā and mantrārtha. The whole work is a creditable performance.

P. V. K.

ISĀDI-DAŚOPANIṢAT-SAṄGRAHA ; second edition by V. P. VAIDYA, B.A., Bar-at-Law, Bombay. Re. 1.

This is a handy volume containing the text of the ten principal Upanishads. The type is bold and clear and does credit to the premier Sanskrit press in India, viz., the Nirnayasagar Press, Bombay. For one who does not want to read the enormous bhāṣyas of the Ācāryas and who is content to read the text of these ancient writings this is a useful publication.

P. V. K.

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CASTE AND RACE IN INDIA. By G. S. GHURYE, Ph.D. (Cantab.), Reader in Sociology, UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1932. Pp. 209. 10/6 net.

Dr. Ghurye has prepared this monograph with considerable care and has used throughout what may be called the scientific method in treating his subject. It is a matter for congratulation that a book of this kind should have been written by a Hindu scholar. The writer knows his facts at first hand, and though he is critical, he has a sympathetic interest in the past so that he does not misinterpret it, and he has a full grasp of modern tendencies so that he is able to detect the weaknesses of a system, that might have once served some useful function in social development but that acts as an obstacle in the process of nation-building and social solidarity to-day. Besides, he is not a propagandist. In treating this intricate subject, Dr. Ghurye has referred to original sources of information, wherever he could do so. The first chapter gives the outstanding features "of Hindu Society when it was ruled by the social philosophy of caste, unaffected by the modern ideas of rights and duties." In differentiating the Caste System from the class system that obtains in the West, Dr. Ghurye has rightly pointed out that the former is based entirely on birth. It is also inelastic while the class system based on wealth is by its very nature elastic. How caste groups were evolved and how the system went on developing since very early times and the causes of the development have

been described by the author in the subsequent three chapters.

The next chapter is an informative essay on Race and Caste, and it is here that we find the author making a judicious use of his anthropological knowledge. The assumptions and conclusions in this chapter can be tested and verified not by means of sentimental considerations but by the application of scientific criteria only. In a further chapter, a useful résumé is given as to how the elements of caste exist even outside India. True, the rigidity of the caste based on the element of birth is hard to find outside the system that has existed among Hindus, but the author's conclusion that "well-marked status groups within a society, distinguished from one another by rights and disabilities, separated from another by the absence of freedom of intermarriage, may, therefore, be considered to be a common characteristic of the mental background and social picture of the Indo-European cultures" strikes as above controversy. In fact, the recent Nazi decree about intermarriage in Germany gives further support to this conclusion. The Hindu caste system has undoubtedly developed its distinctive feature, and that is the determination of status by birth alone.

The eighth chapter, "Caste: Recent and Contemporary", is one of the most interesting features of the present book, and Dr. Ghurye has done well in giving quotations from the writings of responsible British officers to show how a political angle is responsible for the conceptions of political arrangement that must result in fortifying the caste spirit and in preventing the unification of the Hindu society and the development of Indian nationhood. Special significance attaches to this chapter because we do not find even a trace of political bias throughout the whole of the book. Dr. Ghurye has very carefully kept himself within the bounds of sociological research, and he has quoted chapter and verse to establish every statement that he makes. He quotes James Kerr, the Principal of the Hindu College at Calcutta, who wrote in 1865 "It may be doubted if the existence of the caste is on the whole unfavourable to the permanence of our rule. It may even be considered favourable to it, provided we act with prudence and forbearance. Its spirit is opposed to national union." The discussion of the material in this chapter is bound to take us into



the region of current politics, and this is no place to do that. Suffice it to say that the recent proposals for communal representation unfortunately bear out the conclusions which Dr. Ghurye as a student of sociology has developed on the strength of historical facts. In fact, there is no better device to perpetuate caste differences and caste animosities than to introduce communal representation into the fabric of our legislative bodies, and even into the fabric of our administrative machine. Dr. Ghurye has done signal service in pointing out how these recent developments are bound to defeat the attempts building up of national unity. This chapter, while it brings the treatment of the subject up to date, is of importance to students of constitutional problems.

In treating the contemporary condition of the caste system, Dr. Ghurye has shown how a large number of the old disabilities imposed by the caste system on the "lower castes" have disappeared, owing to the laws introduced by the British Government. After all, all that society can do is to remove social disabilities and to enforce equal social treatment. The forces of equality and equity have started working, and ultimately they are bound to prevail. To right what is wrong in the old system is wisdom. Even to replace the old system, if it be at all possible, by a new system which is at once equitable and workable, is wisdom. But to perpetuate suspicion and hatred on the strength of what happened in the past is neither wisdom nor commonsense.

Collection of accurate facts about caste is a task that must be taken up by students on a larger scale than has been hitherto done. Books on Indian sociology are so few, that any addition to them should be welcome to students. Dr. Ghurye deserves congratulations for his work particularly for the able and impartial manner in which he has handled the subject. Dr. Ghurye has evidently taken considerable pains in getting his facts, and though all his conclusions may not command universal assent, he has certainly exhibited admirable impartiality in giving facts and in deducing his conclusions. We hope before long he will be able to write a comprehensive work on Hindu Sociology.

M. D. A.



IMPERIAL FARMANS (A. D. 1577 to A. D. 1805) granted to the ancestors of His Holiness the TIKAYAT MAHĀRĀJA. Translated into English, Hindi, and Gujarati, with notes. By KRISHNALAL MOHANLAL JHAVERI, M.A., LL.B. News Printing Press, Bombay.

This is a handsomely printed volume of the *farmans* granted by the Mogul Emperors to the successive Acharyas of the Vallabha Sampradāya between the years 1577 and 1805. The *farmans* are printed fac simile, with their translations in English, Hindi and Gujarati, and a note on Viṭṭhaleshwara and his Vidvanmaṇḍana is appended at the end. The volume is bound to prove of interest to the students of history of the Sampradāya.

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JAME JAMSHED Centenary Memorial Volume. Pp. 561+41, Bombay 1932.

Jame-Jamshed is one of the oldest Newspapers in Bombay and it deserves to be congratulated on the completion of a hundred years in its useful career. This bulky Memorial volume published by the Centenary Working Committee contains a large number of interesting articles, in English and in Gujarati, on a good number of subjects connected with the history of Parsis and their culture from ancient times to the present day.

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JAINISM IN NORTH INDIA : 800 B. C.—A. D. 526. By CHIMANLAL J. SHAH. Longmans, Green & Co., 1932. Pp. 292. 42.

The literature on Jainism may not be extensive, but it is certainly not quite so meagre as the author of this work would seem to suggest. He has indeed paid a tribute to the researches of the Savants who have done so much to unravel the history and thought of Jainism ; for he has based his book on those researches and he has frankly admitted that he has made no new discovery. His sole aim is to narrate the history of the rise and growth of Jainism in Aryavarta from 800 B. C. to 526 A. D., and he has achieved it creditably. He shows a remarkable first-hand knowledge of the authorities—both original and secondary—from which he quotes copiously. A full index and a comprehensive bibliography add to the usefulness of the work.

TRAILS TO INMOST ASIA. By GEORGE N. ROERICH Yale University Press, Newhaven. \$ 7.50.

The famous Central Asian Expedition which was organised by the Trustees of the Roerich Museum, New York, and led by the Russian impressionist painter, Prof. Nicholas Roerich, has received wide publicity, both at its inception and at the various stages of its progress. On his return Prof. Roerich recorded his own impressions—mainly artistic and spiritual—of their wanderings in the Altai-Himalayas. Even so the present work will assuredly be welcomed; it is a full and authoritative narration of the wanderings of the expedition and its labours which occupied five years. And it comes, besides, from the pen of one who is variously qualified to write it. Mr. G. N. Roerich was one of the expedition and is the son of its leader; and he is a linguist and antiquarian of note.

The main object of the expedition, we are told, was “to create a pictorial record of the lands and peoples of Inner Asia”; and in this their success was complete. The five hundred paintings by Prof. Nicholas which were brought back by the expedition and which are now on permanent exhibition at the Roerich Museum, New York, furnish a unique panorama of the life and art of one of the least known regions of the Eastern continent. Some of them have been reproduced as illustration in the present work.

The other two objects of the expedition were to explore the possibilities of archæological research and to collect ethnographic and linguistic material illustrating the culture of these regions. But with regard to the former, their achievement was meagre; in certain tracts other scholars had preceded them, and in others they were prevented by circumstances from carrying on their work. Their pursuit of the other object, however, met with a large measure of success. They were able to collect a number of Tibetan and Mongolian books; and the present author studied the sacred texts of the Bon religion, the literature and history of the nomadic tribes of eastern and northern Tibet, and compiled materials for a Ded-Mongol dictionary as also a collection of local songs and ballads.

The book is well printed and illustrated and has a useful index.

B. G. M.

RISE OF THE PESHWAS. By H. N. SINHA. Indian Press, Allahabad. 1931. Rs. 5.

This is the first volume of a projected series of three, which will together trace the rise, decline and fall of the Peshwas. The present volume deals, roughly, with the first half of the 18th century ; a period of great Maratha expansion during which the Marathas, from being a local principality spread their power and influence far and wide and came to nurse imperial ambitions. Mr. Sinha has presented a very readable account of these very eventful fifty years ; but the book is too short and summary to be an exhaustive standard work on the subject like Sardesai's, and it does not possess enough literary quality to be regarded as a work of interpretation such as is Ranade's. It may prove a useful and readable guide, however, to students of Maratha history ; but its usefulness is considerably marred by the absence of an index and a bibliography. I would also protest against Mr. Sinha's orthography of Maratha names which he spells after the Bengali fashion, and not as a Maratha would write and spell them. "Somabanshi" to take a single instance, ought to have been written as "Somavanshi".

B. G. M.

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PĪYUṢAPATRIKĀ : A MAGAZINE. Edited by HARISHANKARSASTRI, NADIAD. Annual subscription Rs. 3.

This monthly maintains a tolerably high level of Sanskrit scholarship. Most of the articles are in Sanskrit. The printing is good and the general get-up is attractive. We cordially welcome this journal.

P. V. K.

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## BOOKS RECEIVED.

- Megalithic Remains in South Sumatra. By Dr. A. N. J. Th. à Th. VAN DER HOOP. Translated by William Shirlaw. (W. J. Thieme & Cie, Zutphen, Netherlands.) Pp. 192 with 226 illustrations and 17 maps.
- Kadamba Kula. By GEO. M. MORAES, M.A. (B. X. Furtado & Sons, Bombay.) 1931. Pp. 504. Rs. 15.
- A Primer of Indian Logic according to Annambhatta's Tarkasangraha. By S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI, M.A., I.E.S. (P. Varadachary & Co., Madras.) 1932 Pp. 364.
- The Mauryan Polity. By V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A. (Madras University Historical Ser. No. 8.) 1932, Pp. 394. Price Rs. 6.
- Finnisch-Ugrisches aus Indien. By WILHELM VON HEVESY. (Manz Verlag, Wien.) 1932 Pp. 382.
- Die materielle Kultur des Kabulgebietes. By DR. BRUNO MARKOWSKI. (Verlag Asia Major, Leipzig.) 1932. Pp. 154 and 35 plates.
- Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature. By HAR DAYAL, M.A., Ph.D. (Kegan Paul Trench Trubner & Co., Lond.) 1932. Pp. 392. Price Rs. 18.
- Studies in Cola History and Administration. By K. A. NILKANTA SASTRI. (Madras University Historical Ser. No. 7.) 1932. Pp. 210. Price Rs. 4.
- Ganga-Puratatvāṅka: Special archæological number. (Ganga Office, Sultangunj, Bhagalpur.) 1933. Pp. 337. Rs. 3.
- Sangameswarakrodum on Jagadisa's Siddhantalakshanam. By G. SANGAMESWARA SASTRI. (Andhra University Ser. No. 7.) 1933. Pp. 68. Re. 1.
- The Company of the Indies in the Days of Dupleix. By W. H. DALGLIESH, Ph. D. (Chemical Publishing Co., Easton, Pa.) 1933. Pp. 238. Price \$ 2.
- Vedic Variants. Vol. II—Phonetics. By M. BLOOMFIELD & F. EDGERTON. (Linguistic Society of America, University of Pennsylvania.) 1932. Pp. 570.
- Raja Bhoj. By VISVESWARANATH REU. (Hindustani Academy, Allahabad.) 1932. Pp. 410.

- Chitrabhāṭya : Commentary on Haridikshita's Laghuśabdaratna.  
By BHAGVAT HARI SASTRI. (Andhra University Ser. No. 6.)  
1932. Pp. 450. Rs. 4.
- The Unadisutras in various recensions. By T. R. CHINTAMANI,  
M.A. (Madras University Sanskrit Ser. No. 7, Part I.) 1933.  
Pp. 282. Rs. 3.
- Indian Women and Art in Life. By K. H. VAKIL, B.A., LL.B.  
(D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Bombay.) 1933. Pp. 35. Rs. 2.
- Chronology of the Early Tamils. By K. N. SIVARAJA PILLAI, B.A.  
(Madras University.) 1932. Pp. 284. Rs. 5.
- Vibhramaviveka of Mandanamisra. Ed. S. KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI,  
M.A., I.E.S., and T. V. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR. (Journal  
of Oriental Research, Madras.) 1932. Pp. 25. Ans. 12.
- History of the Rashtrakutas. By BISHESWAR NATH REU.  
(Jodhpur Archaeological Department.) 1933. Pp. 151. Rs. 2.
- Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais : (Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane 1820)  
of Fr. FENICIO. Ed. by J. CHARPENTIER. (Wilhelm Ekman  
University Fund, Uppasala.) 1933. Pp. 358. Kr. 20.
- Message of Śakuntalā. 1933. pp. 50. Annas 8. } By R. V. SHAH,  
Wife. 1933. Pp. 28. Annas 8. } (Ahmedabad.)
- Tolkappiam, Facs. I. By R. VASUDEVA SARMA, M.A., B.L.  
(Trichinopoly.) 1933. Pp. 48. Ans. 12.
- Story of Kālaka. By W. NORMAN BROWN. (Smithsonian Institute,  
Freer Gallery of Art Oriental Studies, No. I.) 1933.  
Pp. 150 and 39 plates.
- Buddhist Annual. Vol. IV, Nos. 1-2. (1931-2). (W. E. Bastian  
& Co., Colombo.) Re. 1-8.
- Al-Andalus. Revista de las Escuelas de Estudios Árabes de  
Madrid y Granada. Vol. I, Fasc. I, 1933.
- Sharadashram Varshika. Shake 1855. Ed. by Y. K. DESHPANDE.  
(Sharadashram, Yeotmal, C.P.) 1933. Pp. 116. Re. 1-8.
- Administration Report, 1106 M.E., of the Archaeological Depart-  
ment, Travancore State. Pp. 25.
- Sir Anthony Sherley and his Persian Adventure. Edited by  
Sir E. Denison Ross. (George Routledge, London.  
Broadway Travellers.) 1933. Pp. 293. 12/6.



## Obituary

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### I

DR. SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, KT.,  
C.I.E., LL.D.

The Society lost one of its oldest members by the death of Sir Jivanji Modi, on Tuesday, 28th March 1933 at his residence at Colaba in Bombay. Sir Jivanji was born in October 1854. He was educated at the Elphinstone College and graduated in Arts in 1877. Side by side he qualified himself as a priest in his community. He made a special study of Avesta and directed his attention to the study of Zoroastrian literature, and studied French and German publications also on the subject to keep himself abreast of the researches of Western Scholars in this field.

In 1893 he was appointed Secretary of the Parsi Punchayat Funds. During his tenure of office for 37 years he rendered valuable service to that community in organising and increasing the Punchayat Funds to a large extent and putting them on a sound basis.

Sir Jivanji became a member of this Society in 1888 and was a member of its Managing Committee from the year 1899 to the year of his death. He was one of its Vice-Presidents from 1907; and was President of the Society in 1929 and 1930. In 1918 the Society awarded



him the Campbell Memorial Gold medal for his scholarly work, and he was made a Fellow in 1924.

His interest was not confined only to Zoroastrian subjects, but he was also interested in a number of learned activities. He was an active member of many institutions such as the Cama Oriental Institute, the Anthropological Society of Bombay and others ; and he always made it a point to attend every one of the meetings of the Committees of which he happened to be a member.

Besides being a voluminous writer on Persian, Pehlavi, antiquarian, anthropological and religious subjects, he was a linguist of ability. He made many contributions to the Society's Journal as well as to the publications of many other Societies, besides publishing a number of books himself. The Society owes him a debt of gratitude for the keen interest that he took in its management, activities and welfare.

He had travelled much in the East as well as in the West, and had the distinction of having been the recipient of high honours from some of the foreign learned Societies as well as Governments. He was a Fellow of the Bombay University from 1887 up to the present year. The honorary degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him in 1931 by the University in recognition of his services to Oriental scholarship. The Government of India conferred upon him the title 'Shams-ul-ulama' in 1893, the distinction of 'C.I.E.' in 1917 and the honour of Knighthood in 1931.

Upright in character, amiable in disposition, helpful to every student who approached him, he led a pious and a studious life. By his death Bombay has lost one of its most eminent scholars in the field of Oriental learning, and a great gentleman.



## II

## G. K. NARIMAN.

Another loss to the Society was the death of Mr. G. K. Nariman on 4th April 1933 at the age of 60. He was an eminent linguist, Orientalist and journalist, and was a member of this Society continuously from 1917. He was a frequent contributor to journals and newspapers on a variety of subjects; and his contributions were always characterised by impartiality of outlook and reliability of information.

Among his books the following may be mentioned :—

1. *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*;
2. *Iranian Influence on Moslem literature*;  
(From the Russian of Inostrazev.)
3. *Priyadarśikā*;  
(Transd. jointly with Jackson and Ogden.)
4. *The Religion of the Iranian Peoples*.  
(From the German of C. P. Tiele.)

He translated many other articles from various languages. He was well versed in Persian, Sanskrit, Arabic, Zend, German, French, Russian, Tibetan, and many vernaculars of India and Burma. During the Great War Government utilized his knowledge of languages by appointing him an assistant Censor. He was actively connected with many other societies

as well. Almost the whole of his valuable library was presented to this Society by his brothers in memory of the many studious hours passed by Mr. Nariman in our Library.

While expressing our gratitude for this munificent gift, we feel that the memory of a scholar could hardly be perpetuated in a more appropriate manner than by such a gift.





# TRANSLITERATION OF THE SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ . . . . . a	औ . . . . . au	ठ . . . . . <i>ṭh</i>	भ . . . . . bh
आ . . . . . ā	क . . . . . k	ड . . . . . ḍ	म . . . . . m
इ . . . . . i	ख . . . . . kh	ढ . . . . . ḍh	य . . . . . y
ई . . . . . ī	ग . . . . . g	ण . . . . . ṇ	र . . . . . r
उ . . . . . u	घ . . . . . gh	त . . . . . t	ल . . . . . l
ऊ . . . . . ū	ङ . . . . . ṅ	थ . . . . . th	व . . . . . v
ऋ . . . . . ṛ	च . . . . . c	द . . . . . d	श . . . . . ś
ॠ . . . . . ṝ	छ . . . . . ch	ध . . . . . dh	ष . . . . . ṣ
ऌ . . . . . ḷ	ज . . . . . j	न . . . . . n	स . . . . . s
ए . . . . . e	झ . . . . . jh	प . . . . . p	ह . . . . . h
ऐ . . . . . ai	ञ . . . . . ñ	फ . . . . . ph	ळ . . . . . ḷ
ओ . . . . . o	ट . . . . . ṭ	ब . . . . . b	

◌ (Anusvāra) . . . . . ṁ	× (Jihvāmūlīya) . . . . . ḥ
◌ (Anunāsika) . . . . . ṁ̐	◌ (Upadhmānīya) . . . . . ḥ̐
: (Visarga) . . . . . ḥ	◌ (Avagraha) . . . . . ,



# TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

## ARABIC.

ا . . . . . a	ز . . . . . z	ق . . . . . q	ـ . . . . . i or e
ب . . . . . b	س . . . . . s	ك . . . . . k	ـ . . . . . u or o
ت . . . . . t	ش . . . . . <u>sh</u>	ل . . . . . l	اـ . . . . . ā
ث . . . . . <u>th</u>	ص . . . . . ṣ	م . . . . . m	ـي . . . . . ī, e
ج . . . . . j	ض . . . . . ḍ	ن . . . . . n	ـو . . . . . ū, o
ح . . . . . h	ط . . . . . ṭ	و . . . . . w	ـى . . . . . ai
خ . . . . . <u>kh</u>	ظ . . . . . ḏ	ه . . . . . h	ـو . . . . . au
د . . . . . d	ع . . . . . ʿ	ي . . . . . y	silent t . . . ḥ
ذ . . . . . <u>dh</u>	غ . . . . . <u>gh</u>	ء . . . . . ʾ	
ر . . . . . r	ف . . . . . f	ـ . . . . . a	

## PERSIAN.

پ . . . . . p	چ . . . . . <u>ch</u>	ژ . . . . . <u>zh</u>	گ . . . . . g
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